GVSTAVVS ADOLPHVS D G. SVECORVM REX etc

" Psal. 45. 4 & 5.

Gird thee with thy sword vpon thy thigh, etc.

Good lucke haue thou with thine honour:
ride on, because of the word of trueth,

For Nathaniell Butter & Nich: Bourne. Ge: Mountin sculpsit

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THE SWEDISH INTELLIGENCER.

The first part.

WHEREIN,

OVT OF THE TRVEST

And choyſeſt Informations, are the *famous Actions of that warlike Prince* Hiſtorically led along: from his Majeſties firſt entring into the EMPIRE, vntill his great Victory over the Generall TILLY, at the Battell of *Leipſich.*

The times and places of every Action being ſo ſufficiently obſerved and deſcribed; that the Reader may finde both Truth and Reaſon in it.

Now the third time, Reviſed, Corrected, and augmented.

LONDON.
Printed for *Nath: Butter* and *Nicholas Bourne.*
1632.

¶ The Contents and Methode of the Whole.

I. *A Diſcourſe vpon the Dyet of* Ratisbone: *which Dyet, bred the Diſcontents of the* Proteſtants; *and enforced them to the Concluſions of* Leipſich.

II. *The Dyet of the* Proteſtant Princes *of* Leipſich: *and their Reſolutions and Actions vpon it: Hiſtorically led along, vnto the day of their joyning with the King of* Sweden.

III. *A briefe Chronicle of the King of* Swedens *Actions, from his firſt landing in* Germany, *vntill his great Victory over* Tilly.

IIII. *The Proceedings of Monſieur* Tilly, *Generall of the Catholique League, by himſelfe; from his firſt comming againſt the King, vntill his great deſeate before* Leipſich.

¶ THE PREFACE
To The Reader.

Vdicious and favourable Reader. Out of our high reſpect vnto that (*Cæſar* and *Alexander* of our times, that admirably victorious King of *Sweden*: wee haue here (and for thy pleaſure too) aventured vpon an Eſſay of his Story; which if liked, may encourage vs to continue it. Not out of any confidence, that ours is a Chronicle worthy enough, for ſuch heroick performances (a *Polibius*, or a *Tacitus* were little enough for that) but our intention chiefly is, to provoke ſome abler Pen, ſome better inſtructed Intelligencer, to doe it: and if ſuch a one con-

troll or mend vs, wee will not be angry. If you here demaund, out of what Inſtructions wee haue *furniſht our Intelligencer*; be pleaſed to know; that nothing is willingly feigned, or wilfully falſified. The errors that be in it, are errors of ignorance, all. Some part of it was received from the papers of an honourable perſonage; a Commaunder of prime credit and activitie, with that victorious King. Wee haue beene made to vnderſtand much of theſe Actions, by diſcourſe with another gallant Gentleman: and he alſo a great Commaunder in the Army. Some printed *High Dutch* bookes wee haue had. For ſome things we haue had private writing, and from good hands too. In other things we haue made vſe of *Gallobelgicus*: eſpecially where he deales vpon publick Record, and where we thought the poore man durſt ſpeake freely: Some times, ſure, he writes but by Commiſſion; and is every where ſparing in reporting the Emperours loſſes. And yet in this, (to take away all exceptions) we haue followed him too; notwithſtanding wee by others found greater numbers and defeates, ſpecified. Very good

vſe

vſe haue we alſo made of the *Weekely Currantoes*: which if a man of judgement reades, he ſhall for the moſt part finde (eſpecially thoſe of latter times) very true, and very punctuall. Whoſoever will be cunning in the Places and Perſons of GERMANY, and would vnderſtand theſe warres, let him not deſpiſe *Currantoes*. All this, laſtly hath paſſed the allowance of a Gentleman (of the beſt judgement and intelligence for theſe matters) in the Kingdome.

Wee haue every where dealt candidely, not magnifying the King, nor derogating from his enemies: not left out, or put in, for favour or advantage. Our methode is this: to handle every Story by it ſelfe, and then to bring all together at the day of Battell. Carefull haue we beene, (yea no ſmall paines haue we taken;) to note the times and to deſcribe the places of the moſt famous actions. We haue examined the *Dates* with diligẽce; and ſtill had fiue Maps before vs of the ſame place. The *Imperiall Dyet* of *Ratisbone*, wᶜʰ was well hoped would haue mended all, leaving things farre more deſperate on the *Proteſtants* partie; neceſſitated a Reſolution in the Prin-

ces

ces of that Confeſſion; rather to dye free, then to liue ſlaues. Hence their *Dyet* of *Leipſich*. And becauſe theſe *Leaguers* were at firſt of an Vnion by themſelues; we haue briefly therefore, and vpon the Bye, firſt handled their warlike preparations; vntill the day of their joyning with the King. The ſame haue we done with the Kings Story. gone along with it from his Majeſties firſt landing. The Kings having of many Armies in the field at once, troubled vs not a little at the firſt, to finde with which of all theſe Armyes Himſelfe in perſon ſhould be: but wee after a while perceived, that this moſt induſtrious Chieftaine, was able to ſerue more Cures at once then one: and that he was ſo vigilant vpon every occaſion, that there were few great Actions, which Himſelfe was not at one end of. Many a braue Generall he hath; The Lord *Oxenſterne*, a *Sweden* borne, and Lord Chancellor of that Kingdome; Generall all this while of a particular Army in *Pruſſia*, to waite vpon the *Pole*, and his motions: The Lord *Falkenburg*, a *Germane* borne, and Lord Chamberlayn of his Majeſties Houſhold; vnfortunately ſlaine in *Magdenburg*. The Lord

Guſtavus

Guſtavus Horne a *Finlander*: and ſtill Generall of a particular Army by himſelfe: with whom the Lord Marqueſſe *Hamilton* was aſſociated. The Lord *Otho Todt*, for brevities ſake call'd *Otty-todt*, or *Todt*, a *Swede*, Generall of his Majeſties Horſe; Sir *Iohn Bannier*, a *Liffander*, and a braue Souldier, Generall of the Foote or Infantery: Together with the valiant *Maximilian Dyvell* or *Teuffell*, Baron of *Gindersdorff* and *Weyersburg*, Colonell to the *Life-Regiment*, or *Guards* of the Kings owne body: and his right hand, as it were. And the gallant *Bauditzen*, Lieutenant Generall of the Horſe: with Sir *Iohn Habron*, Sir *Alexander Lesly*, and Colonell *Lumsdell*, all *Scots*; and as braue men as the world hath: All theſe you finde frequent and honorable mention of; and yet hath the King himſelfe beene at the moſt of the buſineſſe. All particular actions it had beene impoſſible for vs to haue toucht vpon; therefore haue we endevored to relate the famouſeſt: whether Sieges, Battels, Marches, Encampings, or Removings: orderly leading all along vnto the great day of battell. It would haue perplexed our methode to haue mentioned every particular ſupply

that the King hath had: thoſe therefore we deſire the Readers to imagine For example; he landed but 11. Regiments, ſome 12000 Foote, and 3000. Horſe, at firſt; yet within a moneth, was his Armies full 20000. ſtrong, which daily increaſed alſo.

His numbers, indeede, were neuer great: he had but 5000. men, for the moſt part, and never aboue 7000 in all his late warres of *Pruſſia* againſt the *Pole*: and yet with them hath he fought ſeverall Battels; beaten out, or wearied out, two *Imperiall* Armies; taken in the great and ſtrong Citie of *Elbing*, with others: and obtained his purpoſe finally, vpon his enemy; who was able at once to haue come downe with ſuch a power of Horſe vpon him, as had beene ſufficient to haue carryed away himſelfe and fiue ſmch Armies. That which hath made his Maieſtie ſo victorious, (next to the aſſiſtance of Almightie God,) is his moſt exact obſerving of militarie Diſciplines wherein with an admirable temper, he is both ſtrict and ſweete: the Maieſtie of a King in him, commanding more willing obedience from his Army, then the awfull directions of a bare Generall alone,

alone, possibly could. Adde to his strict Discipline, his many poynts of new invented Discipline, peculiar vnto himselfe: too long here to describe. His justice, finally, and his mercy: his exemplary and his indefatigable industry: his affabilitie, and his easinesse of accesse: the goodnesse of his cause, and the common Libertie which his victories bring with them: haue conquered more then his sword. What now shall hinder this braue and princely Warriour, to arriue vnto that height of reputation which *Gonsalvo* did in the warres of *Naples*, whom the Historians of that age, worthily stile *the great Captaine*? yea so great a Conquerour hath the King hitherto beene, that I dare challenge the most envious Historian, to set (for all particulars) such annother hy him. God blesse the King of *Swedens* Maiestie: and thoroughly enable him, to be the glorious *Assertor* of the *Germane* Libertie. *Vale*.

If the Readers desire the continuance of our Relations; our Intelligencer *shall be much the better furnished to giue Content, if they please to send vs in their owne Intelligence*.

THE PREFACE &c.

For that it ſeemes impoſſible for vs Engliſh *to avoyde that obſervation of* Philip de Commines, That in all great actions, wee are ſtill harkning after Prophecies; (*which the well taking of ſome things in this kinde, hath even now verified:*) *we will therefore feede the humor of the times a little, with a* Prediction *of a great Aſtronomer of our owne Nation, vpon that great* Conjunction *of* Saturne *and* Iupiter, *July* 18. 1623. *And with a* Prophecy *out of the famous* Paulus Grebnerus *his Booke, now in* Trinitie Colledge *in* Cambridge.

The Aſtronomers judgement is this. That the effect of that Conjunction *would be felt in the North and Northeaſt parts of* Europe *in particular: and in generall over all. That it would produce Famines, Plagues, Warres, &c. Countries ſubiect to this, he nameth* Italy, France, Bohemia, Sileſia, *and* Germany. *Of Provinces, he inſtanceth in* Pruſſia, Brandenburg, Stiria, Haſſia, *and* Saxony; *Yea he deſcends to Cities: naming* Rome, Prague, Magdenburg, Coblents *betwixt* Mentz *and* Cullen, Vlmes, Brunſwick, Ausburg, &c. *He ſayes it is likely to goe hard with the* Romane *Empire,* Clergie, *and* Ieſuites. *He ſpeakes of a King of a true Religion that ſhould doe all this: and of much happineſſe that ſhould ſucceede it. The whole Diſcourſe will perchance ſhortly be imprinted.*

PROPHETIA
IN LEONEM DOMVS SAXONIÆ.

DIV aſpectavi & connivi ego huic actui, & fidem Domui Auſtriacæ & Philippo ſynceram præſtiti, ne invictiſſimum Regis Philippi Belgium jamdudum ad extraneos deveniret, quod mihi Hiſpania acceptum referre habet. Iam vero diutiùs ſopitum quieſcere, & quaſi micare in tenebris, mihi & filio meo Chriſtiano intoleranda & irrecuperabilis jactura et damnum videtur. Ideo arcum intendo meum & jacula mitto, & ſagittæ meæ ac tela fortunæ filij mei Chriſtiani etiam

am directè collimant metam & invadentes feriunt, ac disijciunt Burgundicum illum, ac Austriacum Leonem, vnde meum, ac filij mei regnum ac dominatio, amplè dilatatur. Quod ego Hæréſq; meus fæliciter conſummavimus.

A Prophecy of *Paulus Grebnerus*, vpon the Lyon of the Houſe of *Saxony*.

I Haue long lookt on and winked at the buſines: & ſtill haue I kept my faith vntainted vnto the houſe of *Auſtria* and to *Philip*: leſt otherwiſe the vncõquered *Belgium* might long agoe haue falne into the hands of Strangers: and thus much *Spaine* owes me. But for me to be ſtill lulld a ſleepe, and to be hoodwinkt as it were any longer: ſeemes an intollerable and an irrecoverable loſſe and detriment,

*The Low-Countries, and the Wallon Countries.

detriment, vnto my ſelfe and my ſon *Chriſtianus*. Now therefore bend I my bow, and ſhoot abroad my darts: whereupon the arrowes and darts of mine owne fortune & of *Chriſtianus* my Sonne, doe directly hitte the marke, and ſmite thoſe that invade me: yea they caſt downe that Burgundian and Auſtrian Lyon: wherupon is the Kingdome and Dominion of my ſelfe and Sonne, very amply enlarged. Thus much haue I and mine heyre, moſt happily atchieved.

OF THE MEETING

Given by the *Emperour*, vnto certaine Electors of the Empire, at the Dyet of *Ratisbone*, 1630. Acurately and truly described in a Letter, by one that very well vnderstood how matters were there carryed.

Faithfully translated out of the Latine Printed Copie; with some Marginall Notes added by the Translator, for cleering of the Story.

The Letter.

Oncerning the passages of the *Electorall Dyet*, truely my noble friend *N: N:* I had according to my promise, dispatcht a more early advice vnto you, but that vpon my returne to *Ratisbone*, there were more dayes spent in mutuall *Visits* and *Entertainments* of friends, then indeed I was willing withall: But having now gotten loose of this troublesome kinde of Courtesie, and that the dispatch of my businesse, together with the retyrednesse of the place where I now reside, hath afforded me some leysure; I would no longer delay the discharge of that obligation, in which I stood engaged vnto you.

Now after twelue yeares of most bloudy warres, and almost vtter desolation brought vpon a goodly Countrey; very probable surely it was, that a peace would be desired on all hands, and that for the full concluding thereof, this very *Dyet* had principally beene convoked. As for the *Protestants*, they verily had even vnto this day vndergone the hardest of all hardship; beene still ouerlaid with most heavie impositions, and with the billettings of the Souldiers of the *Catholike Leaguers*: [a] Yea the *Catholickes* themselues, having had often tryall of the insolencies of the *Imperiall* Souldiers, and of the chargeableneſse of the warre; beganne now also mightily to distaste the Covetousneſse of their owne partner, the Duke of *Bavaria*. Vpon this discontentment was the *Palatine* of [b] *Newburg* reported, to haue fallen off from the *League*: as for the Arch-bishop of *Saltsburg*, he (as having no share among the other Princes, in what should be conquered or recovered by the warre,) had for many yeares past withdrawne his Contribution. The Bishop Elector of *Triers* also very earnestly complained of the damages received by the *Spanish*: namely, of the pillaging of his Country, and the plundering of his Subjects houses: yea, and the Bishop [c] Elector of *Colein* also gaue off among the rest. In this one point notwithstanding, did the counsels and desires of the *Protestant* partie differ from the *Catholickes*; for that *They* out of a well meaning simplicitie, desired an vtter forgetfulneſse of things passed, and a right downe *peace*: whereas *These*, tis true, seemed to be contented to lay downe Armes; but not except the Church goods withheld by the *Protestants*, might first be restored. Furthermore, that the Emperour was for his part heartily desirous both of the *Peace*, and this *Dyet*; we are in courteſie bound to beleeue it. For when it was talkt on in every mans mouth at *Vienna*, how that both the *Peace* and *Agreement* were but given out for a meere showe, the *Dyet* not really intended, and that the *Emperour* never meant to goe to *Ratisbone*; He gaue the Count of *Schwarzenburg* (Marshall of his house) a shrewd checke, for that he had not already given order to the household, gotten the carriages together,

[a] The *Catholike* Princes of the Empire, who haue entred into a League for the recovery of the Church lands, and for the rooting out of the *Protestant* Religion.

[b] The Duke of *Newburgh*, a yonger house of the *Palsgrave*, & who put in for the *Electorate*: lately before, turnd *Papist*, the better to make his way with the Emperour.

[c] Brother to the Duke of *Bavaria*.

gether, made proviſion of Wagons and * Shipping, and for that by his ſlackneſſe and negligence, matter was miniſtred for the people diverſly to deſcant vpon: and credible it was, that *Himſelfe* being a Prince of milde diſpoſition, vſed to liue in peace heretofore; did now begin to conſider vpon the variable changes of fortune, and after ſo many yeares of proſperouſly atchieved warres, was at length deſirous of eaſe and quietneſſe. To be feared beſides it was, leaſt that theſe continued warres, theſe immortall Impoſitions, theſe violences, injuries, and Ravages; would be beleeved to be commanded, for that they were not forbidden; and that when people ſaw no other helpe for it, they would ſeeke a remedie even out of deſpayre it ſelfe.

* For both *Vienna* and *Ratisbone* are ſcituated vpō the *Danubie*.

But as for thoſe whoſe mindes were fully taken vp with the opinion of *Cæſars* affecting to Rule all (people being very apt to imagine the worſt) they mainly ſuſpected *His* deſigne in ſummoning this *Dyet*, not to proceed out of any care of the publicke, or his deſire of an equall peace; but that *He* was partly conſtrained vnto it by ſome preſſing neceſſitie of his owne, and that he might lay ſuch a ground-worke for the houſe of *Auſtria*, as he might build vpon hereafter. And that, becauſe every thing now helpt forward his buſineſſe as he could deſire. That whatſoever had any ſtrength (to reſiſt him) in the whole Empire, what through warres, tributes, and accuſations, lay now a drawing on, vpon an eaſie death as it were. That it was the part of a wiſe man to follow his fortune, which had hitherto beene alwayes favourable vnto *Cæſar*. That a man muſt make his beſt vſe of what ever befalls him. That many things were to be brought about by putting to the venter, which were accounted difficult in the beginning. That by the ayde of the *Catholike Leaguers*, the *Proteſtant* Princes firſt; and thoſe being made a hand with, even the *Catholikes* themſelues, might very poſſibly be brought vnder the Dominion of the houſe of *Auſtria*. That the *Conde D'Ognate* of the houſe of *Guevaras*, the late *Spaniſh* Embaſſador with the *Emperour*, (a man not ignorant of the deſignes then on foote) was wont to caſt out a word now and then a-

Peoples ſuſpitions of *Cæſars* intentions.

Their Argumēts for their ſuſpition: taken from the opinion of the Courtiers.

mongſt his friends, *How that the Gownes of the Germane Biſhops were with the longeſt, and that their traynes muſt therefore be clipt.*

Furthermore, ſuppoſe the *Peace* did never ſo much pleaſe, (the Emperour) yet the *Dyet*, by which it was to be concluded, ought by all meanes to be avoyded. For by this courſe, ſhould *Cæſars* both words and actions come vnder cenſure; and the authoritie of *Majeſtie* be by that meanes much weakned: whereas this is the Condition of Ruling, that the Accompt be allowed vpon no other Termes, then as given vp to one man onely.

But whereas there was an Army alreadie now on foote; the warre not onely commenc't, but farre advanc't; Contributions impoſed, divers Princes depoſed, and * new men ſet vp by the Court; every thing (to conclude) paſſed quite contrary to the Lawes; the *States* of the *Empire*; yea the *Electors* themſelues eyther vnwitting of them, or vnwilling with them: how cou'd all theſe things be defended; yea which way could they poſſibly be excuſed? Furthermore, how ever *Cæſar* might be earneſtly enclined to a peace, yet muſt his power be neceſſarily kept vp by force and ſtrong hand. That both the *Nobilitie* and the *Commons* had beene too highly exaſperated, with a ſhew of varietie of injuries; yea, and that they would take Courage to revenge themſelues, ſo ſoone as ever they ſhould ſee *Cæſar* diſarme.

* They meane *Walſtein*, whō the Emperour made Duke of *Mecklenburg*.

Theſe reaſons, no doubt, had beene throughly canvaſſed at Court, and had a long time exerciſed both *Cæſar* and his *Courtiers* with ſuſpence; againſt all which, the neceſſitie of going forward with the *Dyet* prevayled notwithſtanding: for, as for ſuch ſpirits as having beene throughly chafed, were eager vpon the warres; they were to be pacified with the hopes of *Peace*, and the mending of the times: and againſt ſo many enemies, the *French*, the *Sweden*, and the *Hollanders*, comming all like a tempeſt at once vpon them; the *Princes* of the *Empire* were to be brought about: and to be perſwaded, That *theſe* being not the private enemies of the houſe of *Auſtria* alone, but the publique adverſaries of the Empire;

Reaſons to perſwade to the *Dyet*.

were

were to be beaten off at the common charges, and with their vnited forces. Nor was *Cæsar* ignorant, that very many there were, so farre forth Masters of themselues as fairely to *obey*, though not slauishly to *serue*; that argued among themselues vpon the miseries of seruitude; raked vp the injuries receiued; and that aggravated all, by construing things to the worst sence: and, as for the defeating of the *Imperialists* *in *Prussia*; the cutting them off in *Holland*: their incountrings with so much hardship in *Italy*; the taking in of St. *Hertoghenbosch*, and of *Wesel*; the falling of the King of *Sweden* into the Empire; many, he well knew, did openly talke of all these things, as not much amisse. But another reason for this *Dyet* there was, (nor was there any other cause that so neerely concerned *Cæsars* going to it) to settle (namely) the Empire in his owne *family*, to shew his Sonne vnto the *Princes*, and to win the *Electors* vnto him. Thus the *Catholickes*, the *Protestants*, and the *Emperour*, for diverse respects, and with equall desires, all sought the *Peace*. The *Protestants* desired such a one, as might promise a forgetfulnesse of matters passed, and securitie for all sides: the *Catholikes*, they were earnest to haue the Lands first of all restored vnto the Churches, and the Churches vnto the old Religion: as for *Cæsar*, that *He* cald a Peace, to haue his Rebells curbed, and all submitted to his disposing: which Peace notwithstanding did no way perswade the disbanding the Armies, nor the easing of the Impositions. And this was the state of the Empire, thus stood mens mindes disposed, when as *Cæsar* and the *Electors* met at the *Dyet* of *Ratisbone*.

* By the King of *Sweden*: against whom, *Hoisteyn* first, and *Arnheym* next, had bin sent.

Now were the heads of the Consultation proposed: in the beginning whereof, *Cæsar* in a long Orarion pleaded for himselfe, That *He* might not be thought to be either the Causer of so cruell a *warre*, or the hinderer of the *Peace*: imputing all the mischiefes that fell out vpon the warre, vnto the *Palsgraue*, and his associates, *Mansfeild*, *Brunswicke* and the King of *Denmarke*: That *himselfe* being the forwardest, there had beene divers Conferences concerning an Agreement; but through the stubbornesse of the adverse partie, all the Trea-

The summe of the Emperours Oration, in six Articles.

ties had come to nothing; now at length therefore high time it was, seriously to bethinke themselues of a good *Peace*; or if that could not at the best hand be obtained, then to aduise vpon the way of a joynt league, both betweene themselues, and with the *Emperour*, against the disturbers of this so necessary a Peace; be they natiues of the Empire, or be they forreigners. And in as much as the *Palsgraue Fredericke*, (the Causer both of these warres and miseries) after those most equall Conditions propounded to him by the *Electors* in their *Dyet* at *Mulhausen*, is not to this day come; nor hath ever since desisted from such Courses, as haue beene troublesome both vnto his Country & the common peace; but hath stirr'd vp others heretofore, and the *Hollanders* of latter times, vnto the destruction of his owne Countrey: The *Emperours* request therefore was, that the *Electors* would be pleased to passe an *Act* of *Counsell*, whereby the *Palsgraue* should continue a banished man without all hopes of returning, and that they would never vouchsafe to entertaine eyther peace or amitie with him. He furthermore declared, how that the *Hollanders* having long since shaken off all due reverence vnto the *Empire*, had with a sacrilegious boldnesse of late, both besieged and taken in, certaine of *his* good Cities and Dominions: now therefore it must be lookt vnto, that the Empire suffer no damage: and the remedies must now be consulted vpon, how the boldnesse of these robbers might best be restrained; and how that which vnjustly they had taken away, might be recovered. The fourth poynt to be considered vpon, was the warres of *Italy*, and the *French* King: who now invaded the rights of the Empire, and made himselfe an Vmpire of such matters, as belong'd not vnto his Cognizance; which is not to be endured, sayth the Emperour. As for the King of *Sweden*, there be no causes of enmitie betwixt vs: but if he will not condescend vnto the *Imperiall Ambassador* the *Burgraue* of *Dhona*, and the King of *Denmarke* the Mediator of the *Peace*; then verily he is to be threatned with the power of the *Romane* Empire; and if he gaue not over, then was his bold attempt to be chastised by force of Armes.

But the King of *Sweden* said otherwise in his Defence; which see afterwards.

Last

Last of all, were the Princes advised to consult vpon the meanes, of maintaining a standing Army, and of the restoring of Martiall Discipline; and of the manner of laying, and of levying the Impositions.

So soone as ever these *Propositions* were noysed abroad, they were variously descanted vpon by diverse: most men admiring, that whereas the first Proposition tooke care how to establish a good Peace; the fiue other Articles breathed out nothing but menaces of warres and Armies. That the Soveraignetie of the house of *Austria*, and the base enduring of servitude by the other side, was the thing (forsooth) that must be called *Peace*. That all was now excused, by the rebellion of the *Bohemians*, the oversight of the *Palsgraue*, and the stubborne spirits of *Mansfeild*, and the rest. That those Armes which were at first taken vp against enemies, were now turnd against the Common-wealth: For, after the differences were compounded with the King of *Denmarke*, there remained no enemy in the whole Empire; and yet the *Army* and the *Impositions*, were nevertheless commanded to be kept on foote. But now plainely was this driven at, that the private quarrels of the house of *Austria*, might be maintained by the power of the *Romane* Empire: which must thereby make another mans quarrell, her owne interest. But as for [a] *Fredericke*, the *Hollanders*, the [b] Duke *de Nivers*, and for his sake the *French* King, and the King of *Sweden*, to conclude; they all professe themselues injuried by the *Austrians*, and to keepe firme amitie with the Empire. And suppose that *Frederick* had invaded the Crowne of *Bohemia* vnjustly, and had merited punishment in that regard; yet had his *Electorall* dignitie beene taken from him, and conferred vpon the Duke of *Bavaria*; before ever the consent of the *Princes* of the Empire had beene asked; the *Electors* gainesaying it: yea, the King of *Spaine* himselfe, being vtterly against it. People, moreover, were bold to Prophecy, That never should Peace returne into the Empire, vnlesse the Prince *Palatine* were first restored into all, or into a good part of his lost dignitie and Dominions. For not he in his owne person alone, and

The Peoples construction of the Emperours Oration.

[a] The King of *Bohemia*.

[b] Now Duke of *Mantua*, whose Ancestors being of a yoger house of *Mantua*, seated themselues in *Fraunce*; to whom for want of Issue, *Mantua* is now falne: the Investiture whereof being denied him by the Emperour, and the King of *Spaine* set on; the *French* King appeared with an Army in favour of him.

and his ſo many Children, and their poſteritie, (which ſoever of them were ſo minded,) would ſometimes or other become the ſubject of more troubles; but the *Auſtrians* and *Spaniard*, with the *Hollander*; and the *Proteſtants* (who by putting the Prince *Palatine* out of the *Colledge* of *Electors*, ſhou'd alwayes hereafter be too weake in number of voyces) with the *Catholikes*; would ever jarre with a perpetuated heart-burning. But were that Prince re-eſtated in his ancient place; then ſhould that too great power of the Duke of *Bavaria*, the heart-burning againſt the houſe of *Auſtria*, and the feares which the *Proteſtants* now ſtood in, be all taken away.

And now that the Duke of *Bavaria* might neither be afraid, nor aſham'd, to lay aſide the *Electorſhip*, obtained by his valour and [a] deſerts; they interpoſed this Counſell: to leaue (namely) a part of the *Palatinate*, vnto him and his heires for ever; and, (which is ſayd not to be without example) to haue the *Electorſhip* goe by turnes betweene them, from one vnto another; eyther by terme of yeares, or liues. Moreover, as for the *Hollanders*, notwithſtanding they had renounced their allegiance to the King of *Spaine*; yet they fayrely conſerved the Majeſtie of the *Empire*; yea and that with their neighbouring Princes, (though *Catholikes*) they did religiouſly maintaine the Articles and Quarter of *Neutralitie*. True it is, that by the right of Warre they had made themſelues Maſters of certain places, which either the *Spaniard* before held; or they feared he would take in: whereas the *Emperour* on the contrary; not by them provoked by any injury, had without any Decree of the *Empire* to that purpoſe, all out of a private deſire of his owne for the aſſiſting of the King his Coſin; ſent the Count *de Monte-Cuculi*, even into the very heart of [b] *Holland* it ſelfe, with an Army. This was the cauſe of the revenge which *they* tooke afterward: nor did they more then enough in ſo doing, or committed any thing contrary to the Law of Armes. That for the Warres [c] of *Italy*, the Rights of the Empire, tis true, were pretended; but yet were they with the bloud, and at the charges of the

Germane

[a] Deſerts to the Emperor, vnderſtand; and not to his Coſin the Prince *Palatine*.

[b] While the Prince of *Orange* lay before *Sl Hertogenbeſch*.

[c] About the Dukedome of *Mantua*; which the *Spaniard*, perchance, could haue beene willing to haue ſeiſed for himſelfe in the Emperours name; who pretended the Dukedome to be a Fee or Forfeiture of the Empire.

Germane Nation, maintained in behalfe of the King of *Spaine*. For as for the Duke *de Nivers*, hee was ever ready to have ſworne *fealtie*, and done his *homage* to the Emperour: but indeed it no way ſtood with the *Spaniards* deſignes, to have a Prince ſo neere a neighbour unto his Dutchy of *Millaine*, that were infected with a *French* ſpirit. Againſt the King of *Sweden* they affirmed, how that the *Emperor* in ayde of his Coſin the King of *Poland* had ſent a ſtrong Army: and therefore ought not to take it ill, if by the ſame Law of Armes, that King ſhould now aſſiſt his owne Coſins the Dukes of *Mecklenburg*, condemned [a] before they were heard: revenging withall, the private injuries offered unto himſelfe. Theſe and the like diſcourſes paſſed up and downe.

[a] By the Emperor, to leeſe their Eſtates: Whereupon, *Wallſtein* with his Army fell upon the Dutchy of *Mecklenburg*, whom the Emperour having created Duke of *Friedland* before, now made D. of *Mecklenburg*.

[b] But the *Electors* in a grave and a ſolemne Anſwer, inſiſted upon the miſeries of the preſent times, the outrages committed in the Warres, and the exceſſiveneſſe of the Impoſitions; laying all the fault upon the author of all theſe, the new Duke of *Mecklenburg*, Generall of the Emperors great Armie; through his ſides, thus girding even at the Emperour himſelfe; ſeeing, that vnto him *He* had given ſo large Commiſſion (and that without the conſent of the Princes of the Empire) as never before him any had: That there had an infinite Army beene gathered; to no uſe, unleſſe to the deſtruction of their Country: that warre had beene commenced againſt ſuch, as it had never beene denounced: That the Impoſitions, which by the Law of the Empire it had beene fit to have aſſeſſed by the joynt conſent of the Princes; had at the pleaſure of the ſayd Duke beene impoſed, and moſt rigorouſly exacted. They at the ſame time alſo affirmed, how that the *Elector* of *Brandenburg* alone in theſe few yeares paſt, (beſides thoſe ineſtimable damages, which uſually accompany the Warres, and the unruly Souldiers,) had beene faine to contribute (and that vnder the name of a Tribute) to the value of twenty Millions of * *Florens*.

[b] The ſumme of the Princes Anſwer unto the Emperors Propoſitions.

*A *Florence* is about three ſhillings Engliſh.

At which time theſe ſeverall complaints were alſo given up: The Duke of *Pomerland* complained himſelfe for ten Millions drawne out of his Principality of *Stetin* alone; and

that in one onely yeare, beſides an unneceſſary rabble of *Hang-byes*, *Drablers*, and the Skullery of the Armie; there had beene one and thirtie thouſand foote, and ſeaven thouſand five hundred and fortie horſe. billetted upon *Pomerland*. *William Landtgrave* of *Heſſen*, for his tribute of ſome certaine yeares, ſeaven Millions; the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, monethly contributed an hundred and twenty thouſand *Florens*. The Citie and State of *Norimberg*, twenty thouſand a moneth: others likewiſe complained, of ſome more, ſome leſſe, that had beene raked from them. They highly accuſed thereupon the prodigall luxury of the ſayd Duke, his *Collonels* and *Captaines*, for their flanting of it in ſuch rich Cloaths and houſe-hold-ſtuffe, of gold and ſilver; and the incredible high keeping and trappings of their horſes.

At the ſame time there was a little booke ſhewed up and downe, wherein the ordinary proviſions of * his houſe, the offices of his Court, and the names of thoſe that had principall charge about him, were conteined; and all theſe with larger allowance (as it was ſayd) then thoſe of the Emperours owne Pallace. Then was his ſo much envyed houſe, built at *Prage* out of the ſpoyles of the Empire, and upon the ruines of an hundred houſes, (purpoſely pluckt downe for him,) every where ſpoken of.

*Walſeyus.

Nor could any of theſe things be denied. But thoſe times (as the Emperour excuſed it) and the power the enemy was then growne unto, and the victory, depending upon ſpeedy purſuite alone (nothing being ſafer in Civill Warres, then expedition) could not away with that ſcrupulous order of the ancient Cuſtomes. Many a Diſpute in writing hereupon paſſed too and againe, on both ſides: in all which, the Emperour preſſed no new Propoſition or requeſt: but the *Electors* mainly urged, The caſhiering of the new * Duke and his Army; to have a Peace made with the *French* King, and the Princes of *Italy*; yea with the King of *Sweden* alſo; whoſe Fleete was not as yet arrived upon the Coaſts of *Pomerland*. The * Ambaſſador of *Fredericke* the *Palatine*, they were very earneſt to have admitted to *Audience*, unto whom now comming

*Walſeyus.

*Mr. Ruſſdorff by name.

comming to the *Dyet* in company of the King of great *Britaines* [a] Ambassador, they gaue assurance for his safe comming and returning. With the *Hollanders* last of all, they all, (but especially the Bishop *Elector* of *Colein*, who lyes neareſt to the danger) desired peace vpon any termes: a businesse of which moment, they all affirmed worthy to be referred vnto a *Dyet* of the whole Empire. Many things therefore the *Electors* by voyces at length carried, which fell heavie vpon the Emperour and his Courtiers.

Vnto *Walensteyn* therefore first of all, were there [b] sent *Iohn Baptista Verdenberg*, and *Gerard Questenberg*; Barons both of them, and both of them enriched by him with many a mightie gift; and both of them alwayes beleeved, to be at Court the great advancers of his Projects. But even therefore were they made choyce of before any others, as the fittest men to perswade with him. The taske which they vndertooke, seemed to be the difficultest of all the rest; it being beleeved that *Walensteyn* being a man of a most haughtie spirit, accustomed to a military command, one that had beene Courted by the greatest Princes, and vpheld by infinite riches; would never dully endure such an affront, nor by his good will ever stoope againe vnto a private life. Cause to feare moreover he had, lest they who never durst doe it when he was a *Generall*, would yet require their own of him when he should become a private man. And the Dutchy of *Mecklenburg* [c] (they beleeved) likely hereby to be exposed to most certaine danger. All mens mindes now full of expectation what would be the event of that message; all men now afraid of new hurly-burlies; behold now (what every [d] body much admired at) *Walensteyn* immediately obeyes the commandement of the *Emperour*. Some indeed surmised, that he being a fast servant to the *Emperour*, though a gallantly magnificent spirited person; yet being now become inexorable by the many faults committed by his Souldiers, he would never be wrought to it, eyther by gifts or threatnings; or by any other devises, such as vulgar spirits vse to be troubled withall; did therefore in his owne judgement account it his

[a] *Sir Robert Austruth.*

[b] Vpō receipt of this message *Wallenstein* perceiuing this to be wrought by *Bauaria* and he by the *Iesuites*: with a chalke, upon his chamber doore, hee wrote there a verses. *The Iesuites and this times Reformation, Will quite undoe all Wallensteins reputation* (All that hee had conquered, he meanes:) writing under the verses *And the Imperiall Crowne, too.*

[c] They feared lest he would use it, as the Deuill did the Possessed; all to teare it, when he knew he was to leave it.

[d] Peoples guesses at the reason of *Wallensteins* so easie quitting of his Armie.

better course, to giue way vnto envie; being in possibilitie one day to see both times and men favourably disposed towards him, who turning with the times, might be changed to repentance. Others suspected him to be weighed downe with great promises, and to haue that way fallen off from the *Emperour*. There were some that sayd, that even by the skill of some in the Starres (wherein besides others he made vse of a *Kepler*, a great Master) and by the *Chaldeans* art, was foresignified, his times and fates to be come; and that they gaue him this Counsell. Others, to conclude, beleeved him to be forced vnto it by necessitie; and that by the cunning even of *Cæsar* himselfe, he was fetcht over; and quit that way of his great forces: and that his vaine heart, out of a hope and desire of warres with *France* and the glory of a new prey; was thus suddenly taken off from his mightie Army: and that he now remaind at *Memmingen* a prisoner as it were. But whatever the matter was, a very great thing it is, and neere vnto a prodigie: first, that *Cæsar* condescended vnto the *Electors*; and secondly, that *Walensteyn* so soone yeelded vnto the *Emperour*.

Another thing there is which the *Electors* now obtained; namely, that these innumerable numbers should be lessened, and the greatest part of the Souldiers disbanded. Then, *Cæsar* promised also, that there should be no warres made vpon any, without the consent of the Princes. And that no Impositions should hereafter be layd, at the pleasure of the *Generall* of the Army, but in the *Land-dayes* of the severall [b] *Circles*, as they call them. Beyond all this, the desires both of *Cæsar*, the *Electors*, and of the *French* Ambassador conspired in one consort to make vp a *Peace*, so vnwelcome and hated of the *Spaniard*: seeing that by it sure order was taken, first, for re-estating of the Duke *de Nivers* in the possession of *Mantua* and *Montferat*: secondly, that the (*Germane*) Troopes should be recalled out of *Italy*: and lastly, that the passages of the mountaines in the *Grisons* [c] Countrey, should be layd open as before. None of which Lawes verily are of that nature, that for the obtaining of them, there was any

[a] This *Kepler* having 30. yeares since calculated the Emperors nativity: foretold him That hee should indeed be a victorious Prince; but forwarned him withall, of having any wars with the King of *Sweden*, who (saith he) hath the Master-fortune of your Starres.

[b] The whole Empire is divided into ten Circles or Provinces: each of which (besides their severall Princes,) hath a President and foure Counsellors to assist him: who call the Dyets or *Land-dayes* to consult for the publike. All the Princes of the same Circle, be of one League,

[c] The *Valtoline*

neede to distribute the quiet of so many Nations, to expend such vast treasures, and to shed the bloud of so many thousands.

The Treatie with the *English* Ambassador, and the Prince *Palatines Procurator*, although it came to no head; yet thereby way was obtayned for Prince *Fredericke* to finde Grace: and that those parts of his Dominions which are in the *Spaniards* hands, are now to be quitted vnto him: and he hath the libertie yet left him, to fulfill the Conditions offered him at *Mulhausen*. And thus, (which God turne to a good end,) doe we owe vnto *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, *Goths*, and *Vandalls*, that we are not vtterly despoyled of our *Armes*, nor too streightly curbed by the *Electors*; nor, finally, made the tenants of the *Clergie*.

For when as in the heate of these contentions yet continuing, newes was brought, both that the Baron of *Dhona* was come away from *Dantzick* without any hope of a Peace: and that the King of *Sweden* had alreadie landed an Army in *Pomerlandt*; made himselfe Master of *Stetin*, and at the same time put the *Imperialists* to flight; *Cæsar*, supposing that to be an occasion to be made vse of; affirmed, that his despising of the Majestie of the *Germane* Empire ought to be revenged vpon him; and that, that error was to be rectified by vertue, which they had run into * by delaying. These Propositions of *Cæsars* were not a little helped forward by a private feare of the *Catholikes*: which was, least that not *Gustavus* alone, (a Prince but of small power) did thus stirre vp the massie weight of so great a warre; but that there were more of the *Protestants*, who out of a hatred to the present estate of things, and a desire of innovation; and those, perchance, forreigne Princes too, should be deeply in the plot with him. These (Catholike Princes) therefore, thus drawne vnto it, not so much out of their loue vnto the *Emperour*, as out of their owne feares; agreed to the *Warres*, and *aydes* against him.

* In the time spent in the Treatie of Peace; which had better bin employed in sending an Army; to withstand his so neere approaching.

In the meane time (which thing was cunningly and closely conveighed, and whereof there had beene no mention

made among any of the heads of the Consultation) was the designe for the Election and Crowning of the King of the *Romanes* mainly intended; and that by most cunning sollicitations, and the earnestest of their devises. *Egenberg*,* a man continually troubled with the Gowt, for which he seldome vsed to come off his bed; gaue particular *Visites* vnto the foure *Electors* present, and vnto the Ambassadours of the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Marquesse of *Brandenburgh*, at their severall lodgings: finely insinuating vnto them, how that the *Emperour* now well in yeares, was even weary of paines-taking, and was a man subject to many diseases besides: that his affection was very good towards the Common-wealth, which he was now able to doe no greater service for, then to settle in it a good Successor. He put them in minde now and then, of the miseries of an *Inter-regnum*, intimated vnto them, the high deservings of the house of *Austria*; wonderfully setting out the towardly hopefulnesse of King* *Ferdinand*.

* The Emperours Counseller.

To the same purpose, (for that the Ambassadours of the two absent *Electors* excused themselues, as having no instructions or Commission to treat vpon that poynt) were there Letters dispatched vnto the *Electors* themselues; yea, the *Electors* good will was so little doubted of, that a certaine *Physician* of the *Emperours* Court, (and he none of the obscurest, as having a speciall vaine in *Poetry*) in a set *Poeme* which was printed at *Norimberg*, congratulated the *Father*, for the Crowne set vpon his sonne *Ferdinand* the *third* his head, none almost contradicting it. Vnto which intimation (of *Egenbergs*) they all returned answer, magnificent enough for *Words*, but emptie for *realitie*: highly thanking the *Emperour* for his Care of the Common-wealth; but that the Lawes of the *Empire* forbad them, to condescend at this time vnto his desires: seeing that by that Law, the *Electors* without particular knowledge of the Cause, could not appoint a *Dyet* for the Creating of the King of the *Romanes*: and that the full knowledge of the Cause contained many particulars, which require both time and serious consultation. Then, that *Franckford*

* The Emperours Sonne, King of *Hungaria*; whom the Emperour would fayne now haue procured to haue been chosen King of the *Romans*: which is as much as Heyre apparant to the Empire.

Nonnisi causa cognita.

ford, was by the same Law, the place appointed for the *Election*. That it were wisely done to take away all matter of rumors; that people might have no cause to say, how all things in that *Dyet*, were in the middle now of *Cæsars* Armies frighting them on every side, not passed by the free voyces of the *Electors*, but by a force and feare rather. Thus by a wise dilatory answer, were those requests turn'd off, which in right-downe termes, the *Electors* would not willingly have denied. But whether it were the Care of the publicke good, and to keepe their owne liberties; or that the ambitious counsell of the Duke of *Bavaria* stept in betweene, I know not; but very certaine it is, that great offence was taken at it, that King *Ferdinand* in his Caroach, in all meetings, and where-soever; still ambitiously affected the upper hand; which was denied to belong unto him, whilest his *Father* was living. And the report was, that the Bishop Elector of *Mentz*, gave *Stralendorff* Vice-chancellor of the *Empire*, a privie *Item* to that purpose.

The Law of Soveraignty eagerly raged in the meane time; and divers of the Gentry of *Franckenlandt*, *Schwabenland*, and the *Palatinate*, were there accused to have borne Armes; under *Mansfield*, * *Durlack*, and *Brunswick*, against the *Emperour*. Some affirmed them to bee guilty: themselves sayd they onely found themselues guilty by suffering their punishment. The execution of this businesse, did the *Emperour* now commit unto *Wolfgang Rudolph Ossa:* (a man accounted rather *great*, then *good:* taken t'other day out of the seruice of the Counts of *Hanaw*, into the number of the Court *Flyes* or *Instruments:*) Commanding the goods of the condemned persons to be confiscated into his owne Exchequer: the *Electors* and other *Princes*, earnestly protesting against the proceedings; claiming, those *Gentlemen* to be within their Dominions: and that these *Fees* which *Cæsar* now Confiscated into his owne Coffers, the *Gentlemen* did hold of them, and of their Ancestors; and that all such *Forfeitures* and *Attainders* were by the favour of former *Emperours*, and long Custome, due unto them. *Cæsar* continued resolute notwithstanding;

* The Marquesse of *Baden*; Lieutenant of the Army of the Princes of the *Union*, for the keeping of the *Palatinate*, and the *Protestant* Countries. After the dissolving of the *Union*, in the yeare 1621. he the next yeare fought with his owne forces about *Sinsin*, betwixt the *Palatinate* and *Wirtemburg*: where the good old man was defeated by *Tilly* and *Don Cordova*.

ſtanding; and diſpatcht away *Oſſa* with a moſt ample Commiſſion: then which action of *Cæſars*, none was generally taken in worſe part. Becauſe even bad Princes, though ſometimes they puniſhed ſuch as were actually prov'd traytors, yet they alwayes too narrowly ſearcht not into every man, that was to himſelfe guilty: that they huſht up many a foule thing, by a wiſe diſſimulation, rather then by bringing it to open puniſhments. That hee that takes away one enemy, makes way for many. That hee eſpecially who hath any thoughts of Peace-making in him, is not to take notice of every thing: for feare leſt the whirlewindes after much adoe being now ſcarce layd, ſhould bluſter out againe into a vehementer tempeſt. That bodies weakned by a ſickneſſe, are not preſently, againe to be tampered withall by Phyſicke; but to be recovered with quiet. That ſcarcely can the actions of the beſt Princes be defended, much leſſe theirs, which are alwayes ſuſpected of avarice: That upon theſe grounds, *Coſimo de Medicis*, (a moſt wiſe* *Prince*,) alwayes left the Eſtates of ſuch as were attaynted, unto their Children and next kindred. Finally, the buſineſſe which of its owne nature was grievous enough, would be made much heavier by the ſharking of the Officers.

* Duke of Florence in Italy.

But theſe *Court-Harpies* forſooth, now after that under the pretence of treaſons againſt the Emperour, and exerciſe of forbidden Religions; they had with their uncleanely talons, foulely griped *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, and both the *Auſtria's*, and wrung the *Nobilitie* and *Gentrie* (whoſe caſe was rather to be pittied) out of their inheritances: their inſatiable mawes being not yet full cramb'd they now whetted their Clawes and infamous beakes againe, to devoure the wealth of the *Empire*. That their yawning gullets, were yet ſet wider upon the tenter-hookes, by the eaſineſſe of the Emperour: in whoſe ſervice, (he being a Prince too much governed by his Officers) men might offend with leſſe feare, and greater reward. One thing there was that added more matter to theſe ſpeeches; a word (namely) that ſcaping from *Werdenberg* was preſently taken up by the people: how that the

the goods of the *Gentry* of *Franckenlandt*, were already granted away vnto the Lords of the *Emperours* privie Councell; both for the payment of their Pensions now many yeares behinde, and also for the reward of their paines and faithfulnesse. Yet for all this, the names of the * Counts of *Meggau*, and *Trautmanstorff*, and of the Abbot of *Cremsmunster* (which three personages, by what title I know not, had out of the Exchequer received some of the escheated goods) they much scorned and despised, as new and strange preferments: for a disposition there is bred in the bone of vs mortals; with ill eyes to looke a squint at other mens newly acquired happinesse; and with an equall repining to measure other mens good, and our owne injuries. But *Cæsar*, shall I say, or these that beare all the sway at Court, remained resolute and peremptory in the matter, all loath to loose so plentifull a Fishing.

* I beleeue that these 3. having thus gotten estates, had also new titles given them by the Emperour; for the first of which they were hated, and for the last, scorned by the *German* Nation, that stand much vpon their ancient Nobilitie.

This Abbot of *Cremsmunster*, was preferred to the Bishopricke of *Vienna* in *August* following

You haue long expected, my noble Friend, to heare what hath beene moved, argued, and decreed in this *Dyet*, concerning the restitution of the Church-goods. That shall I briefly tell you of. It stood not with the *Emperours* honor, againe to submit a case already decided by himselfe, and wherein he had by his *Proclamation* declared his pleasure, vnto the Censure of others. Nor any whit of favour was there all this while shewed vnto the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, the Marquesse of *Brandenburg*, the Counts of *Hohenloe* and *Waldeck*, the Cities of *Strasburg* and *Norimberg*: who by sentences every day passed against them, were commanded to quit the goods of the Church. And thus may it hereby sufficiently appeare, how that that distinction of time agreed vpon, and the *Transaction* of *Passaw*, hath not hitherto beene observed, no not by *Cæsar* himselfe; but that that of the following time hath been observed: seeing, that the Credit of all proofes, though never so cleare, hath beene overthrowne by cavils and by subtleties. Certaine it is, that the Count of *Furstenberg*, *President* * of the *Iudgement*, returned no other answer vnto *Caspar Vrband Feilisch*, Chancellor to the Marquesse of *Brandenburg*,

* *Iudicij Præsides.*

denburg, complaining of the vnjuſt ſentence decreed againſt the Counts of *Hohenlo*, than this vulgar *Verſe*.

Fronte capillata eſt, poſthac occaſio calva.

That, *Occaſion* is to be taken by the foretop, becauſe ſhe is bald behind. Which ſame man in a familiar manner thus anſwered vnto *George Muller* (whom you well know) and to my ſelfe: that ſeeing our *Counts* [a] had confeſſed themſelues, for the ſpace of foureſcore yeares and vpwards, to haue kept the poſſeſſion of the *Church-Goods*; it followed neceſſarily, that they muſt with a good will leaue them for as long time vnto the *Catholickes*: and that after that terme, they might poſſibly returne vnto the *Proteſtants* againe. Theſe mockes were added, vnto Iuſtice denyed vs.

And yet about the latter end of the *Dyet*, the Ambaſſadors of *Franckenlandt*, *Schwaben*, of the *Saxon* Princes alſo, and the Duke of *Brunſwick*, and of certaine *Cities* beſides; delivered in writing the *Forme* and the *Degrees* of that [b] *Tranſaction*, vnto the *Chancellor* of the Biſhop Elector of *Mentz*: and he on the other ſide in another writing declared vnto them, the Conditions vnto which the *Catholike* Princes ſeemed to haue conſented. And to this paſſe the matter at laſt came, That for the further Compounding of all Differences, the time was appointed to bee in *February*, and the place *Franckford*.

The *Catholike* partie treated the [c] buſineſſe in good earneſt: but whether the reaſon of it were, for that intelligence being even now given them by their Spies of certaine ſecret levies of Souldiers, at that inſtant made by the *Elector* of *Saxony* and ſome others in *Franckenlandt*; and that they ſtanding in feare thereupon of further troubles, were deſirous to maintaine in the *Proteſtants* the hope of a good agreement; I cannot eaſily determine: time will diſcover all. Of all which; as alſo how things now ſtand betwixt the Princes of the *Catholike League*: and of the Orders taken (for ſhow rather, than

[a] The Maſters of *George Muller*, and of the Author

[b] Of *Paſſaw*, held *Anno* 1552. in which *Dyet*, *Charles* 5. and K. *Ferdinand* decree, That the *Lutherans* ſhould not be moleſted for Religion or for holding the *Church* Lands: which was again confirmed in the *Dyet* of *Auſburgh*, held *Anno* 1555. The violaters of the agreemẽt of *Paſſaw* to be judged enemies to the Empire. And this they now complaine the Emperour to haue done.

[c] That the orders of *Paſſaw* might be kept, and the *Proteſtants* not be too ſuddenly caſt out of the *Church-lands*.

than for continuance) about the manner of paying the Souldiery; wee ſhall at my comming into ----*land*, more commodiouſly ſpeake together. Farewell my noble Friend, *N: N:* and ſtill loue me.

Your Obſervant,

N. N.

THE PROTESTANTS

Dyet of LEIPSICH, beginning *February* 8. 1630. And ending *Aprill* 3. 1631.

With what followed vpon it, vntill their joyning with the King of *Sweden*.

THe Imperiall *Dyet* thus ending *November* $\frac{3}{13}$. left matters in farre worſe eſtate than it found them: for that men perceived now their very hopes to be taken away, as their liberties and goods had beene before. And the *Proteſtant* Princes finding themſelues ſtartled by foure things eſpecially, perceived it high time now for them to take the Alarme. The firſt of the foure was this: that whereas the Duke of *Saxony* had in the time of the *Dyet* written advice vnto the Emperour, of the King of *Swedens* approaching: the Emperour tells him againe, how he hoped that himſelfe (*Saxon*) and *Brandenburg* would well ayde him, with money, munition, and other neceſſaries. By which anſwere, *Saxony* perceived a new bill of Charges comming vpon the *Proteſtants* next thoſe parts, where the King of *Sweden* was landed. The ſecond was this: the round courſe taken by the Emperour for the recovering of the Church Lands: which neyther the *Elector* of *Saxony* was able to ſtay by his Letters vnto the Emperour; nor the *Elector* of *Brandenburg* and other Princes, with their preſence at the *Dyet*: but that even before their owne feces, daily Commiſſions were ſent out againſt them. A third was this: that rigide courſe (taken by advice

advice of the *Ieſuites*) for Reformation of the *Proteſtant Churches* and *Schooles*, and the forbidding of the libertie of the *Auguſtane Confeſſion*. The fourth was, that *Decree* of the Emperours (publiſhed foure dayes before the breaking vp of the *Dyet*, though hammered vpon long before:) for the continuance of the Warres againſt the King of *Sweden*: whereas the way had beene propounded and adviſed vpon before, how to compound the matter, rather than how to continue the troubles. And that which aggravated the Decree for the warres being; not onely that the Princes were to be at the charges of it, but that the levies were to be layd and collected, not by the conſent of thoſe who ſhould pay them, but at the pleaſure of the Imperiall *Commiſſaries*: for the moderating of whoſe power, and repreſſing the numbers and inſolencies of the Souldiers, notwithſtanding ſome ſlight promiſes were now made; yet how far they would be kept, was in their owne pleaſures. The *Proteſtants* by theſe arguments being not onely made ſuſpitious, but ſenſible too: that there were not too many good intentions in the Emperour towards them, their Eſtates or Religions; begin to enter into a Conſultation for their owne ſafetie. The plot for it was layd thus. That whereas there had beene a Conference betwixt *them* and the *Catholikes* at the former *Dyet*, concerning the Church Lands; the further treatie thereupon, was referred vnto a *Dyet* (procured by the *Catholikes*) to be held at *Franckford* vpon *Mayn*, in *Auguſt* following; the Duke of *Saxony* ſhould write his Letters vnto the *Emperor*, (which was ſeconded by the mediation of the *Electors* of *Mentz* and *Bavaria*,) entreating libertie for the *Proteſtants* to hold a *Dyet* by themſelues, in ſome convenient place; that ſo by their vnited Counſels they might be provided, for an anſwer at the future *Dyet* of *Franckford*.

The Emperour grants the *Dyet*.

The *Imperiall* aſſent being thus obtayned; the *Proteſtant* Princes by their Letters and Ambaſſadours agree vpon the *Dyet*: the place to be *Leipſich*, and the time the 8th. of *Februarij*. That the ſeverall Princes and States therefore might know before-hand, what Inſtructions to giue vnto the Amba-

Saxonyes Letters.

baſſadors they were to ſend; the Duke of *Saxony* in his *Invitatory* Letters to each of them, layes open the purpoſe of the intended *Dyet*; fairely communicating the maine propoſitions, both vnto them, and to the Emperour. The contents whereof were; Firſt, To conſult how the Church might with a good Conſcience be maintained in her ancient liberties and happie eſtate. Secondly, How to keepe their due obedience to the Emperour, and yet preſerue the ancient Conſtitutions and Peace of the Empire. Thirdly, How to maintain correſpondency with the *Catholicke* Princes. And fourthly, what to anſwere for themſelues both in generall and particular, as well concerning the maintenance of the reformed Religion, as to the Emperours *Edict* concerning the Church-Lands, when they ſhould come to meete at the *Dyet* of *Franckford*.

The *Proteſtãs* partie in the Empire.

The Princes thus invited, and the time now come; vpon the fourth of *February* 1631. the *Elector* of *Saxony* enters *Leipſich* in great ſtate: and the *Elector* of *Brandenburgh* a little after him. Thither in perſon came theſe *Proteſtant* Princes alſo. *Chriſtianus* (another) Marqueſſe of *Brandenburg*. *Iohn William*, and *Bernard*, Dukes of *Saxon Weymar*. *William*, Landtgrave of *Heſſen*, *Fredericke* Marqueſſe of *Baden*. *Auguſtus* Prince of *Anhalt*. *Fredericke* Count of *Solmes*. *Iohn George*, and *Erneſt Lodowike*, Counts of *Mansfelt*, and the (depoſed) Dukes of *Mecklenburg*. Theſe Princes ſent their Ambaſſadors. The Duke of *Deuxponts*. *Iohn Erneſtus* another Duke of *Saxony*. *Frederick Ulricke*, Duke of *Brunſwicke*. The Duke of *Lunenburg*. The ſeverall Princes of the *Circles* of *Schwaben* and *Franckenlandt*. The Lady of the *Abbey* of *Quedlinburg*. The Biſhops *Adminiſtrators* of *Mecklenburg*, and of *Bremen*. The Counts of *Stolberg*. The Barons of *Reuſſen* and *Schonberg*. Theſe Townes and States ſend their *Agents* alſo. *Norimberg*, *Strasburg*, *Franckford*, *Lubeck*, *Bremen*, *Brunſwicke*, *Hildeſheim*, *Mulhuiſen* and *Northuiſen*. Duke *Lodowick Fredericke*, *Adminiſtrator* of the Dukedome of *Wirtemberg* was newly dead; and Duke *Iulius* not yet ſetled: and therefore being not able to come himſelfe, he ſent the

the Vice-Chancellor of the Dukedome called Doctor *Loeſler*, and ſome other Counſellors as Deputies for that Dutchie. And theſe be the *Proteſtant* party in the Empire: ſome whereof being *Lutherans* and ſome *Calviniſts*; they firſt of all agree to haue that diſtinction of names (which had cauſed ſo much Schiſme and hatred heretofore) to be vtterly taken away: making a generall Decree, that both Profeſſions ſhould from thence forth be called by one name of *Evangelicalls*.

That is, Profeſſors of the Goſpell.

No man was ſuffered to ſtay within the Towne, whoſe buſineſſe was not knowne: the ſtreets ends were chained vp and barricadoed; guards ſet at the ſeverall ports; and the keyes of the gates every night brought into the Dukes chamber. And all this, was, to prevent Spyes and ſurprizals. The Duke *Elector* of *Saxony* (on whoſe greatneſſe and countenance, the Party and Action very much depended) makes a ſpeech firſt of all, which had reference vnto his former Letters of Invitation vnto them: proteſting withall, his owne firmeneſſe and forwardneſſe for the peace of the Empire, and the maintenance of the Religion; and that he would be ready to adventure both life and goods in the Cauſe; ſo deſiring every man freely to giue his Counſell in ſuch manner, as they might be able to render a fayre account of it vnto the Emperour. Vnto this meeting the King of *Sweden* alſo ſends his Ambaſſadour Doctor *Chemnitius*; who in his Maiſters name delivers them this aſſurance. That his Majeſties intentions were no other, than to reſtore the Empire to her ancient peace, the Princes to their liberties, and to defend the Church in her Religion; telling them moreover, how that the *French* King was newly entred into a League with him for fiue yeares to come. The Ambaſſadour had both ſpeedy Audience, and honourable entertainment. The *Dyet* (to be briefe) brake vp vpon *Palme-Sunday* the third of *Aprill* following. The Concluſions agreed vpon, themſelues expreſſe in their Letters, in humble and complaining manner, enlarged in many ſheetes of Paper, ſent by an expreſſe Curryer vnto the Emperour: in which their joynt deſires were thus ſignified.

Saxonies Oration.

Their

Their humble remonstrance vnto the Emperour.

Their Complaint and Remonstrance, I reduce into these Propositions.

That the *Golden Bull* and *Constitutions* of the Empire, had of late beene all abused. That the Emperours late *Edict* for restitution of the Church-Lands; and his endevours to root out the *Protestant* Religion, were the maine Causes of these late troubles. The first of these, breeding jealousies and discontents betwixt the *Protestants* and the *Catholikes*: and the second, tending to the vtter ruine of the two *Electors* of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*. Then they complaine of injustice done vnto particular Princes and Cities: some of which were injuried, by the violent taking away of their Church Lands; as the Dukes of *Wirtenburgh*, and *Brunswick*, the Prince of *Anhalt*; the Counts *Hohenloe*, *Stolberg*, *Lippe*, *Valdecht*, *Verthimb*, *Erpach*, &c. the Towne of *Ausburg*, and others. Some hindered in the exercise of their Religion: as *Augustus* and *Frederike*, Princes *Palatines*, and yonger brethren vnto *Wolfgang William*, *Palatine* of *Newburg*, now turnd *Papist*. Others had their Estates confiscated: as the Lady* *Electresse Palatine*, and her Sonne *Lewis*, Prince *Palatine*; the Dukes of *Mecklenburg*, &c. for whom the whole Colledge of *Electors* had interceded in the late *Dyet*, but not prevayled. Others complaine of the violent altering of their Feods and Tenures of their Lands and Lordships; as the last before named Princes, and *Iohn Casimire* Elector of *Saxony*: into whose Lands the Imperiall Commissaries haue with force and Armes intruded; changing the tenures of the tenants, and altering the Religion. *Ernestus* Marquesse and Elector of *Brandenburg* complaines of the same wrongs offered vnto his Pupils, the yong Marquesses* of *Onspach*, *Vlme* Duke of *Brunswicke* complaines, first of the ravages of his Lands done by *Tilly*, vpon pretence of moneys owing to the King of *Denmarke*; and made over by the said King vnto the Emperour, who imployed *Tilly* thus to streyne for them: Secondly, of the seisure of his Bishopricke of *Hildesheim*: and thirdly, that the chiefe Towne of his owne residence, (*Wolffenbuttle*) had beene forced to take an Imperiall Garrison.

* The mother and brother of the King of *Bohemia*: *Lewis* being Duke of *Swmern*.

* Which are of the house of *Brandenburgh*: their Lands lying by *Nuremberg*: of which they write themselues *Burgraues*.

Others

Others complaine, how they might not have the benefit of the Law; but were driven away by threatnings and discourtesies. The Electors and Princes complaine of contempts and indignities offered vnto their parsons: some of them having beene threatned the *Bastonado* by some of the Emperours Souldiers. The Cities and Circles of the Empire complaine, that vndue and excessive Impositions and Taxes haue beene layd upon them: not by the consent of themselves (as the Imperiall Lawes command) but at the pleasure of any of the Emperours Commissaries. That under colour of protecting them, they haue beene forced to afford Quarter and maintenance, unto the Imperiall Armies: who when they should indeede have defended them, most cowardly ran away. That when they would not endure the Souldiers insolencies, they have beene declared enemies of the Empire, and forbidden to defend themselves. That their Lands have beene given to Souldiers, as if they had beene Conquered. That they have beene forced to contribute to imaginary companies of Souldiers, (perchance to foure or fiue) as if they had beene a compleat band. That the Commissaries haue assigned Quarters and passages unto the Souldiers without ever asking leave of the Princes or Countries. That people have beene tortured for their money, had their Cattell driven away, their houses fired, and all Commerce driven out of their Country. That the Souldiers neyther observed martiall discipline, nor morall honestie: neyther keeping the Lawes nor fearing God. That virgins and women have beene ravished upon the high Altars. That if the weekely Contributions were not paid at the Commissaries absolute pleasure, the Souldiers then spoyled the Countrey. The Marquesse of *Brandenburgh* complaines, that notwithstanding the King of *Sweden* had two parts of his Country (the old and the new *Mark*:) yet was he forced to pay a full Contribution for the whole Marquisate, That himselfe, by the Souldiers so long lying in his Country, was left so poore, that he was not able to entertaine a Garrison for the defence of his owne palace: and was fayne to abridge even the necessary

proviſions of his owne Table and family. That the Souldiers entertayn'd by the *Proteſtants* for their owne defence, have beene turn'd againſt them, to take away the Church Lands. That treble more Contributions have beene raiſed againſt no enemy, then ever were when the *Turke* was in *Germany*. That when the Princes of the houſe of *Saxony*, as namely, *Altenburg*, *Weymar*, and *Colburg*, had excuſed themſelves of diſabilitie to pay each of them 1454. Dollars a moneth, which the Commiſſary *Oſſa* had required of them; then *Tilly* threatned to fetch 10000. Dollars a moneth out of them. That conſidering all this, they could perceive nothing elſe, but that the Emperour had intended their utter ruine: whereas hee had dealt more gently with thoſe of his owne hereditary Dominions. That all this is moſt contrary unto the Oath of the Emperour, and unto the Lawes of the Empire: and for ſuch, hath beene complained upon, by the ſeverall Electors and Princes; and by them proteſted againſt in the late *Dyet* of *Ratisbone*. Wherefore they now humbly petition to be relieved; proteſting otherwiſe, that they are no longer able to endure it: but ſhall be enforced to defend their perſons, their Conſciences, their Eſtates and Subiects. Reſolving notwithſtanding to continue their due loyalty and obedience unto the Emperour: humbly now deſiring a faire and a gracious Anſwere from him. *Leypſich*, *March*, 18. 1631.

Their Concluſions publiſhed.

Their Concluſions were anſwerable unto their Propoſitions.

1. That conſidering it was their ſinnes which deſerved theſe puniſhments; they command publike prayers to be made unto Almighty God, for the diverting of theſe miſeries.

2. That meanes might be thought upon, and a friendly Treaty appointed with the *Catholike Princes*; for remooving of all jealouſies, and reſtoring of good termes and concord betwixt them: as for ſeaventy yeares before it had beene.

3. That when the time and place for this Treaty were once appointed; the *Proteſtants* ſhould there appeare a little before,

before, to prepare themſelues what to ſay in it.

4. And the fayrelyer to diſpoſe both *Cæſar* and the *Catholikes* vnto their intentions; that their grievances ſhould in humble manner be before-hand by Letter preſented, both vnto the *Emperour*, and the three *Catholike Electors*.

5. That theſe grievances ſhould in thoſe Letters be preſſed; to be contrary vnto the Emperours Oath, the Imperiall Lawes, the priviledges of the Princes, the honour and ſafetie of the Empire. That the warres would vndoe all, the inſolencies of Commiſſaries and Souldiers were ſo inſufferable, as that it ſtood neither with their Conſciences, their ſafeties, nor their honours to ſuffer themſelues and Subjects, to be any longer thus abuſed: and that they would hereupon deſire the benefit of the Emperours ſo often promiſed protection.

6. That ſeeing theſe greater and fuller Aſſemblies were both chargeable and tedious; they agreed that certaine Deputies ſhould, as neceſſitie required, be in the names of all the reſt appointed; both to treate and determine of, what ſhould ſeeme convenient for the Common cauſe.

7. They decree of levies of Souldiers (both of horſe and foote) to be made in their ſeverall Dominions and Diviſions: without croſſing the Conſtitutions of the Empire, or offence of any; and onely in their owne defence.

8. That whereas in a *Dyet* of the Empire held 1555. it had beene decreed; how that neighbouring Princes ſhould liue neighbourly, and if any oppreſſed others, the reſt ſhould relieue them: this reliefe they now promiſe one another; deſiring that if in theſe troubleſome times, the levies and other carriages, could not poſſibly be every way agreeable to the Conſtitutions of the Empire, that it might not be interpreted to be done of purpoſe. The Dyet of *Auſburg*.

9. They decree the continuance of their loyaltie and obedience vnto his Imperiall Majeſtie.

10. They agree alſo vpon the proportion of the Levies.

Thus, The *Elector* of *Saxony* engages himſelfe to rayſe ſixe Regiments. *Brandenburg* three. The ſeverall *Circles* of *Swaben*,

ben, the *Rhyne*, and *Franckenlandt*, three Regiments a peece; and the Circle of the *Lower Saxony* agreed to furniſh moneyes for the rayſing and paying of one Regiment. Each Regiment of foote was to be 3000. ſtrong, and of horſe 1000. And thus the *Dyet* being ended vpon *Palme Sunday* with a Sermon; *Saxony* diſplayes his *Defenſiue Banner*, beats vp his Drummes, begins his Levies: and ſo at their comming home, doe the reſt of the Princes.

Theſe Concluſions and Reſolutions of the *Proteſtants*, were not a little boggled at, at Court; did not ſlightly diſpleaſe the Emperour; and ſtartle the *Catholike Leaguers*, with their Adherents. The *Proteſtants* heare of it on both eares: For this, are they both by words and writings, both threatned, and reviled: yea their new League and ſtrength, were by ſome *Confidents* not a little ſcoffed and ſcorned at. But they that had beene vſed to hard deeds before, were ſufficiently hardned againſt foule words now; they were not to be diſcouraged this way; they did their buſineſſe, and let the others talke their talkes. Things going thus on; it was by the middle of *May* every where perceived, How that theſe *Leaguers* of *Leipſich*, were now in very good earneſt. For now vpon the taking of *Magdenburg*, the *Proteſtants* ſtrongly ſuſpecting by the inhumane crueltie there vſed by the *Imperialiſts*; that it was not a heate of warre alone, but that there was a Coare of malice diſcovered in it: not an *Imperiall*, but a *Popiſh* ſpite, vnto that Citie aboue others; for having beene one of the firſt that harboured *Luther* and his Religion: they begin to make it their owne caſe, fearing that for their Religions ſake, all they were likely not to be much better vſed. Some therefore of the neighbour Princes (thoſe namely of *Saxony* and *Swaben*) demand of the Cities of *Vlmes* and *Memmingen*, &c. Scituate in *Swaben* by the River of *Danubius*; (which were of the *Proteſtant* League with them) to entertaine for Garriſons ſome of theſe new levyed Forces. *Memmingen* conſents: but *Vlme* being a greater Citie, relies vpon her owne ſtrength. Theſe things being done, Command is given by the Emperour vnto *Eggon* Count of *Furſtenberg*,

Furſtenberg, (appointed Generall for the Circle of *Swaben*) to imploy thoſe 8000. (lately come out of *Italy*, after that the warres of *Mantua* were ended) together with ſome eight or ten thouſand more, againſt thoſe Townes aforeſaid. *Furſtenberg* preſſes ſo hard vpon *Memmingen*; that about the beginning of *Iune*, he enforceth it to renoūce the new League, and to purchaſe the Emperours pardon, at the rate of 50000. *Florens* readie pay, and 25000. monethly Contribution. The *Proteſtants* League being now noyſed abroad, and another meeting at the latter end of *May*, at the ſame *Leipſich* intended; thither come the Ambaſſadours of *England*, *Sweden*, *Saxony*, and *Brandenburg*: There is the vniting of their forces with the King of *Sweden* propounded, but not concluded: onely the paſſage of *Wirtemberg* heretofore denyed him by *Saxony*, is now deſired againe, to be open for his Army. M^r. *Tilly* about the ſame time diſpeeds a meſſage vnto *Saxony* with overtures of a peace; promiſing ſhortly to come himſelfe with ſufficient Commiſſion to confirme it. This being ſuſpected to be a plot, eyther to divert or ſtagger the reſolution of the Duke, or a tricke to gaine time; and that *Tillyes* Commiſſion might perchance be in his ſcabbard; the meſſage was not accepted: notwithſtanding that *Tilly* did in mid-*Iune* following, come in perſon indeed, and at *Oldſleben* had treatie with the Dukes Ambaſſadours.

When this would not doe, and the Emperour by the Dukes ſecond Letters (dated the day after the end of the late *Dyet*) vnderſtanding the reſolution of the *Leaguers*, which by their generall levies he perceived them readie to maintaine; And hearing withall, the King of *Sweden* to be victoriouſly already advanc't, quite through *Pomerland* and *Mecklenburg*, into ſome places of *Brandenburg*: out-thunders *He* his Imperiall *Bann* againſt the *Leipſich Leaguers*, dated at *Vienna*, *May* 14. peremptorily forbidding any place of the Empire, to grant either reliefe, paſſage, or place of quarter, muſter, or rendezvous, vnto any of their forces: commanding every man, to deſtroy, kill, and perſecute them as enemies: and the eaſier to dehort the *Leaguers*, his Majeſtie offers

The *Emperors* Proclamation againſt them.

fers to releaſe them of their Oaths, taken in prejudice of him at *Leipſich*; and to grant pardon to as many as ſhould come in: vpon paine of death forbidding all their Subjects, eyther to contribute to their levies, or to ſerue vnder their Enſignes; but to turne both their moneys and perſons towards the advancement of his Imperiall ſervice; promiſing the freedome of Conſcience and Eſtates, to all that ſhould thus obey him.

Divers people are naturally afraid of thunder: ſome of the *Leaguers* therefore, (and eſpecially the graue-headed Burgers in the richer Cities) began now to quake at the noyſe of this ſo hideous a Proclamation. Which feare of theirs, much coold their blouds, made them the leſſe zealous and warme in the reſolution. But he that hath not courage enough to fight, hath wit enough commonly to excuſe his cowardize; So fell it out here; divers of the backwardeſt palliating their owne remiſſeneſſe, with the newes they pretended to haue heard, of the mammering of the chiefe man in the action, the Duke of *Saxony*. And this had like to haue arreſted the whole Deſigne. *Saxony* hearing of all this, notwithſtanding he was at this inſtant hard layd at by *Hagen Muller*, the Emperours Ambaſſadour, to come over to his Maiſter; yet (to prevent a jealouſie) would he not ſo much as once ſpeake with him then at *Torgau*, but referred him for Audience over vnto his privie Councell.

Hagen Mullers Propoſitions were theſe foure:

1. To conſult how the buſineſſe about the Church-Lands might beſt be compounded.

2. How the inconveniences occaſioned by the Warres, might be eaſed.

3. That the agreement of *Leipſich* for ſtanding vpon their owne defence, might be Cancelled.

4. That he would adviſe how a peace might honorably be concluded with the *Swede*; and that the Duke would mediate it. The anſwer of the Dukes Councell is too long to inſert: and to be briefe, the Ambaſſador returnes not well ſatisfied. Immediately hereupon, the Duke diſpatches his Letters vnto the ſeverall *Leaguers*: aſſuring them of his owne Conſtancy;

Conſtancy; and inviting them with all ſpeed, to haſten their preparations.

Theſe Letters of *Saxony* brought about the matter againe; and he, to ſhew that he meant to doe more than write Letters; layes ſure guardes vpon his owne Frontiers, ſome eight or ten thouſand men: proceeding warily hitherto, and all vpon the defenſiue. The *Proteſtant* Princes of *Swaben* (which lye along the *Danubie*, betweene the Dukes of *Wirtenburg* and *Bavaria*) doe hereupon aſſemble at *Eſſingen*; reſolving to ſticke cloſe to the Articles of *Leipſich*: reenforcing their levies thereupon. And now the faire Citie of *Norimberg* in the vpper *Palatinate*, returnes to her former reſolution; notwithſtanding the particular threatnings of the Emperour, to giue the ſpoyle of it vnto their great neighbour, the Duke of *Bavaria*. The Citie of *Strasburg* armes alſo: and the Citie of *Vlme*, encouraged by the new Adminiſtrator of *Wirtenburg*, Duke *Iulius*; refuſes to giue paſſage to the late troopes, comming that way out of *Italy*: and ſend three hundred Muſkettiers to ayde their neighbours of *Memmingen* againſt them.

The Landgraue of *Heſſen* (againſt whoſe Country, it was generally reported, that *Tilly* would forthwith come; and that he was already for that purpoſe vpon his March as farre as *Duringen*) beſtirres himſelfe all this while, levies men, and fortifies his Frontiers. *Tilly* ſends, before he comes to him: and that theſe foure Demands.

Tillyes quarrell to *Heſſen.*

1. To pay the arrier of the contribution due vnto the Emperour.

2. To giue ſufficiently hoſtages or ſecuritie for the future. Directly profeſſing himſelfe eyther a friend or a foe, to the Emperour.

3. Immediately to caſhiere his Army.

4. To lay open his paſſages for the Emperours forces: to receiue Imperiall Garriſons into *Caſſell* and *Sichenheim*; and to giue quarter to fiue other Regiments.

Hard termes all. Vnto which the *Landgraue* returnes though a Negatiue, yet a modeſt anſwer. This way not ſpeeding;

ſpeeding; it ſeemes the way of practiſe and of trechery was attempted: for the *Landgrane* preſently vpon this diſcovers ſome correſpondency entertaind by two or three of his owne chiefe Lords with *Tilly*, for the delivering vp his two chiefe Townes of *Caſſell* and *Sigenheym*; for which they are executed. *Tilly* after this in a rage ſends three ſeverall troupes into his Countrey: his owne intended expedition againſt him being diverted by newes of the King of *Sweden*.

All this while (namely vntill the latter end of *Iune*) was there no aſſurance of the *Proteſtant* Princes purpoſe to vnite with the King of *Sweden*: but they all ſtood vpon termes of neutralitie; preſerved their obedience vnto the Emperour, keeping onely vpon the Defenſiue; without once offering any Act of Hoſtilitie, where they were not firſt provoked. *Saxony* had now 17000. foote, and 3000. horſe, all in a readineſſe. Vpon the ſame termes ſtands the Marqueſſe Elector of *Brandenburgh*: who notwithſtanding the neare alliance betwixt the King of *Sweden* and himſelfe, (the King having married the Siſter of the ſayd Marqueſſe:) yet that he ſeemed farre enough from vniting with him, appeares by an action of his, which had like to haue coſt him dearely. The *Elector* denyes a requeſt of the Kings for two paſſages for his Army, (now in the *Brandenburghers* Country) and eſpecially for that the Marqueſſe at this time deſired his Towne of *Spandau* againe, which vpon ſome termes had at the firſt bin lent vnto the King. Which the King taking very vnkindly, (divers Circumſtances perchance occurring) all of a ſudden beſieges the Electors Towne of *Berlin*, bending his Canon vpon the very pallace; threatning to pillage it. The difference is at length appeaſed by the *Electreſſe*; together with the promiſe of 30000. Ryx Dollars a moneth, and to haue the Towne of *Spandau* (*Cuſtrine* he alſo deſired) againe conſigned over vnto him as before. The reaſon of which deniall in the Elector we ſhall hereafter gueſſe at, when wee come to handle the Kings proceedings, by himſelfe. This done, the King about the middle of *Iune*, returnes from his Campe vnto *Stetin*; there to giue Audience vnto the *Ruſſian* Ambaſſador, who

Vnkindneſſe betwixt *Sweden* and *Brandenburg*.

who brought him an offer from his Emperour, of a great power of money towards the maintenance of his Wars; requesting on the other side, some Commanders of the King to guide his Army against the *Pole*; for which Army, he also desired passage through the Kings Country.

About the beginning of *July*, the *Crabats*, it seemes, being the forerunners of those 18000. that had some while layn about *Ulme* and *Memmingen*; passe over the *Danuby* into the Duke of *Wirtenburgs* Country; where they plunder and spoyle 11. Townes and Villages; whom Duke *Julius*, (newly chosen Administrator) meeting withall; what with his owne forces, and what with three companies of foote, and two Cornets of horse, now sent unto him from *Ulm*; utterly defeates three troopes of their horse. Thus farre this new Administrator did bravely. But the rest of the Emperours Army under *Furstenburg* (having now brought *Memmingen* under Contribution) passing the *Danuby* after their *Crabats*; first take in *Reisling*, an Imperiall Towne, Duke *Julius* looking on: who no sooner perceives them to make towards his Army, now lying at *Tubing*; but his heart presently failes him; and upon the second day of *July* being Friday; shamefully yeelds to the signing of these Articles, which *Furstenburg* presents unto him.

The Protestant party weakned, by the revolt of *Wirtenburg*.

1. To disclaime the *Dyet* of *Leipsig*; to yeeld obedience unto the Emperour: and as Hostages thereof, to resigne up his Brothers widow and Children, into the Emperours protection.

2. To dismisse his Army, giving leave to those that would to serve the Emperour; the rest to sweare, never to beare Armes against the Emperour.

3. To give Billet and Provisions unto the Imperiall Armie.

Tubing is hereupon yeilded unto the Emperour: the fortune and example whereof, is followed by other Cities, both in that Dukedome; and throughout *Swaben*: and by *Vlm* among the rest. The terror strikes one way, as farre as *Heilbrun* in the same Dutchy, within halfe a dayes journey of the

lower *Palatinate*; who thereupon diſmiſſe their forces: and on the other ſide, the City of *Norimberg* quakes, in the upper *Palatinate*. Inſomuch, as (in a manner) all *Swaben* and *Franckenland*, fall off from the *League*, and come under the Emperours devotion.

Heſſen ſtands firme.

The Landtgrave of *Heſſen* remaines firme for all this: and Duke *Bernard* of *Saxon-Weymar* now peicing in with him; *Heſſen* rayſes a new Fort nere *Iſenach*: and ſome of *Tillyes* Vant-curriers having now preſſed upon him as farre as the River *Werra*, yea and aſſaulted his new Fort (though with ſome loſſe:) he withdrawes his troupes diſperſed before upon his Frontiers; and formes a ſtanding Campe betwixt *Caſſell* and *Eſchwegen*. We are by this time come into the middle of *July*. About which ſeaſon the Duke of *Saxony* (now much moved with the reuolt of *Wirtenburg* & *Schwaben*;) cals his Parliament together to *Dreſden*: and propounds theſe ſeaven Articles unto them.

Saxony calls a Parliament.

1. Whether he were beſt to ſend any body to appeare for him, at the approaching *Dyet* of *Franckford*?

2. What to anſwere the Emperour, now preſſing him to renounce the Concluſions of *Leypſich*?

3. How to behave himſelfe towards *Tilly*, who now began to uſe hoſtility towards thoſe in *Duringen*?

4. How to anſwere the Duke of *Bavaria*, demanding him to lay downe Armes?

5. How to pay, and where to quarter their owne Souldiers.

6. Whether they were beſt to joyne * with a certaine great Prince, or not.

* They meane the King of *Sweden*, though they thinke not good to name him.

7. What were beſt to be done, for the relieving of the Biſhopricke of *Magdenburgh*?

What their reſolution was, appeares by the ſucceſſe: for within ten dayes after this, (that is, upon *Auguſt* the ſecond) the Duke with his Feild-Marſhall *Arnheim*, Muſters 13000. foote, and 5000. horſe; provides his Pioners and Carriages; Commands all to be ready to March at an houres warning; fortifies *Leipſich*; goes to viſite his Frontiers; and to the

Towne

Towne of *Torgaw* eſpecially: which being a frontier towne, next unto the Emperours Countrey of *Luſatia*; and ſcituate alſo upon the River *Elve*; lay very fit therefore both to cleare that Streame, and to hinder *Tillies* further inſtruſions that way; who lay all along upon it, betwixt *Magdenburg* & *Saxony*. The Landtgrave of *Heſſen* (againe) about mid *Auguſt*, flyes out upon his unfriendly neighbours, in the Biſhopricke of *Hierſfelt*: brings that under contribution; but meddles not with the Clergie. *Tilly* now writes unto the Landtgraves people; complaining of their Maiſters purpoſes to joyne with the enemy. The Landtgrave goes on for all this; and Marches up into the Biſhopricke of *Fulda*. To oppoſe him, is *Fugger* firſt ſent up with an Army, ſayd to be ſome 16. or 18000. men: which for the ſervice of the *Catholike Leaguers*, had beene before times rayſed in the lower *Saxony* and the *Palatinate*. Within a while after whom, *Altringer* followes; with ſome two Regiments more: which had heretofore layn about *Strasburg* & *Hagenaw*: and thus hath *Heſſen* his hands full. Privately therefore goes he over unto the King of *Swedens* Camp at *Werben*; Some overtures of uniting are (perchance) there made: & he returnes home from the King, with three Regiments of horſe, and one of foote; with an able Commander over them: all lent unto him for his aſſiſtance. *Brandenburg*, about *Auguſt* 22. ſends Ambaſſadors unto *Saxony*: and *Saxony* about the ſame time, ſends privately unto the King of *Sweden*. And now (perchance) were the overtures to the future union firſt agreed unto on the Dukes part: in which untill then he not declared himſelfe. And thus much appeares by a word of his, ſpoken about this time at *Torgaw*: namely, that if he thought his own ſhirt knew his intention, he would teare it. Which reſervedneſſe of his notwithſtanding, there appeared (ever ſince the late Parliament of *Dreſden*) a good inclination and confidence in the Duke towards the King. So that notwithſtanding his ſhirt knew nothing, yet this may we gueſſe to have beene the great ſecret: That if ſo be the Emperour would not come off, or did ſo fiercely preſſe upon him to take in his Country:

Of Heſſen againe.

Fuggar and Altringer ſent againſt him.

that then, if the King of *Sweden* by his joyning with him were likely to prevaile; he would rather ſide in with him, then ſuffer himſelfe to be over-run by the Emperour. And that he carried a more private good affection unto the King then he thought it convenient as yet to diſcover; appeares by his deſiring of ſome expert Commanders of the King, (and Baron *Teuffell* by name) to leade his Army: But this did not the King at this preſent yeeld unto: becauſe that had rather engaged the King unto him, then him unto the King. Surely it is, that *Teuffell* was not ſent unto the Duke; he being one that the King intirely loved; who was unfortunately ſlaine afterwards in the great Battle.

Where the Battell was after fought.

About the twentieth of *Auguſt*, *Saxony* Muſters his forces upon that faire plaine or heath by *Leipſich*: namely, ſixty Companies of foote; (ten Companies to every Regiment) and 1000. Muskettiers for his owne guards. Horſe 4300. (of which 1000. to a Regiment) and 400. for his owne guards: over and above all which, were 1400. Curiaſſers or men at Armes. Theſe be the names of his chiefe Commanders. On Foote, *Swalbach*, Generall of the Artillery. *Arnheim*, Field-Marſhall, *Hans-George* of *Salms*, *Glitzwicke*, *Looſer*, *Star-Schedel*, Colonels. Of the Cavallery theſe. The Duke of *Saxon-Altenberg*, Generall *Bindauff*. Sergeant Major. *Hoſtkerk*, *Steinau*, Colonels. *Taub*, Lieutenant Generall. All theſe troupes being thus muſtered; they were preſently furniſhed with 400. Wagons of Proviſion and Ammunition, and ſixe pieces of Ordnance, out of the Dukes Magazine. While the Army ſtayes thereabouts; *Tilly* ſends theſe foure Propoſitions unto him; to which hee muſt have a ſudden and a *Categoricall* Anſwere.

1. Whether he would, like other Princes, yeild up his forces to the Emperour; to beate *Sweden* out of the Countrey?

2. And as a ſubiect furniſh the Imperiall Army with proviſions?

3. And renounce the Concluſions of *Leypſich*?

4. And reſtore the Church-Lands.

To

To all which, the Duke about the twenty foure of *Auguſt*, returnes not onely a negative reſolution; but aggravated it alſo with ſome Circumſtances of unkindneſſe offered him by the Emperour, in requitall of his ſo many good ſervices; bemoaning himſelfe of the untruſtineſſe of the *Catholike Princes*; yea even before the Emperours Ambaſſador (then with him) he proteſts; that they ſhould not finde a Duke of *Wirtenburg* of him, he would not ſuffer himſelfe to be led by the noſe: but bad the Ambaſſador tell his Lord and ſpare not, that he would live and dye in defence of the Concluſions of *Leipſich*. This reſolution in the Duke was quickned (perchance) by the *French* Ambaſſador then with him: ſo that having diſcovered himſelfe thus farre againſt the Emperor, he ſees no way, but eyther to be undone by *Tilly*, or to joyne with *Sweden*. And now while the termes of uniting might be concluded with that King (to meet with whom, and the Marqueſſe of *Brandenburgs* Ambaſſador, he the laſt of *Auguſt* ſends to *Coſwig*, beyond *Wittemberg*,) the Duke thinkes of keeping out of *Tilly*. Having gotten intelligence therefore, that the Count of *Furſtenberg* (now joyned with *Tilly*) was by him ſent as a Vantcurrier into *Hall*; and that he made proviſions of Bridges; the Duke fearing that his meaning was to paſſe over the Rivers of *Sala* and *Mulda*, and ſo to make for the Citty *Torgau* upon the *Elve*: which Towne lying betwixt *Leipſig* and *Wittemberg*, had he once made himſelfe Maiſter of; he had quite cut off the King of *Sweden* for ever comming into *Saxony*; and had gotten all the command of the *Elve* beſides. *Saxony* therefore ſuſpecting *Furſtenbergs* intention; riſes with his whole Army from about *Leipſich*, and makes with all ſpeed towards *Torgau*: both to ſecure that, and there to meet with the King of *Swedens* Ambaſſador alſo. By this time was the ſaid Kings Army drawne downe as farre as *Wittemberg*; the Articles of agreement are now ſent unto the Conſultation of *Torgau*; *Brandenburg* was already joyned with him: and nothing hindred *Saxonies* uniting too; but ſome termes, partly of cau-

tion, and partly of honour; whether hee were to yeeld the whole Command of his owne Army unto the King, or not? Which the King abſolutely deſiring, and the Duke making ſome Objections againſt, the Vnion was the longer a concluding.

Well! if *Saxony* will not joyne, *Tillyes* haſt (for he longs to be beaten) ſhall quicken his ſlowneſſe. For no ſooner doth *Furſtenberg* perceive his deſigne for *Torgau* defeated; but thitherward marches he with 3000. foote, and 1500. horſe therefore, firſt he takes in *Murſenburg*, *Tilly* going towards *Welſenfels*, and other places about *Leipſich*: beſieging even the Towne it ſelfe. And now there was no remedy; *Saxony* muſt joyne, or be loſt: vpon the 4. of *September* therefore he thoroughly condiſcends vnto the King of *Swedens* Propoſitions. And thus haue wee brought *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* into the King of *Swedens* Army. Turne wee backe againe vnto that King, to ſhew by what degrees and approaches, hee gained thus farre into the Empire.

THE

RELATING

THE PROCEEDINGS

Of that PRINCE, from his firſt Landing in GERMANY, 1630. vntill his great Victory over TILLY.

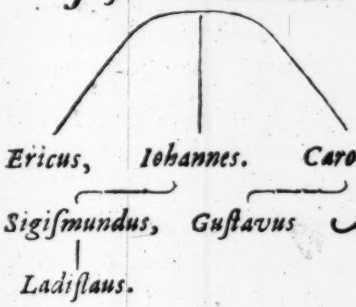
HISTORICALLY DIGESTED.

For the Readers better vnderſtanding of the King of SVVEDEN, wee have here given you his Majeſties *Pedigree:* which may ſerve in ſtead of an Introduction.

THE PEDIGREE

Of the High and Mightie Prince GVSTAVUS ADOLPHVS, by the Grace of God, King of *Swedens, Goths*, and *Vandals*, great Prince of *Finland*, Duke of *Eſthonia* and *Carelia*, Lord of *Ingria*.

Guſtavus Ericus.



GVSTAVUS ERICVS, firſt of that name and bloud, was one of thoſe ſixe Hoſtages ſent vnto (that ſcarce to be paralleld Tyrant) *Chriſtiern* King of *Denmarke*, *Anno* 1518. Which Hoſtages he having gotten into his power, moſt perfidiouſly reteyned as his priſoners; carrying them away with him

1. Briefe notes vpon this *Pedigree*.

him into *Denmarke*. But *Guſtavus* having found favour and libertie one day to goe a hunting; diſguiſes himſelfe, and eſcapes: after many dangers arriving in his owne Country, *Anno* 1520. About which time the ſaid King *Chriſtiern* contrary unto his promiſe made unto the *Swedes* upon theyr ſubmiſſion (upon which he promiſed to remit all offences) beyond all examples of Chriſtianity, within foure dayes after his Coronation, cauſes all the Nobility, Gentry, Byſhops, Counſellers, and prime Citizens of the Kingdome of *Sweden*, to be eyther hang'd or beheaded: the ſtreets of *Stockholme* where he was crowned, to run with bloud; the carkaſſes to lye three dayes unburied, and then to be burned, &c. Amongſt the number of the maſſacred, the Father of *Guſtavus* was one. When *Guſtavus* had once heard of this hideous newes; he, having that winter time gathered ſome ſmall company together, exciteth the *Swedes* to vindicate theyr Countrie liberty. In the valourous ſucceſſe whereof, himſelfe having beene a chiefe Author, is in the yeare 1523. by conſent of all the States of the Country, choſen King. He thus elected, refuſeth to be crowned: contenting himſelfe onely with the title of *Governour*. By authority of which dignity, *Anno* 1527. he ſummons a Parliament; where he propounds the *Reformation* of *Religion*: in which finding much oppoſition, and little hope; he ſurrenders the Kingdome unto the States againe. The Land thus brought unto a ſtreight, humbly beſeech *Guſtavus*, once againe to accept the Kingdome. Thus was he Crowned *Anno* 1527. becomming the firſt *Proteſtant* King that ever was in the world. This ſame yeare was *Rome* taken by *Charles* Duke of *Burbon*. This *Guſtavus* from the time of his Coronation raigned 33. yeares.

Ericus the eldeſt ſonne of *Guſtavus* ſucceeded his Father. *Anno* 1560. who reigning eight yeares, dyes without iſſue.

John, the ſecond ſonne of *Guſtavus* ſucceeded his Brother, *Anno* 1568. Reigned 24. yeares. His onely iſſue was *Sigiſmund*; choſen in his Fathers lifetime (*viz.* 1587.) King of *Poland*, and is yet living.

Sigiſmund,

Sigiſmund King of *Poland*, ſucceeded his Father *John*, in 4
the Kingdome of *Sweden*, *Anno* 1593. He tooke an oath to maintaine the priviledges of the Kingdome, to admit no other Religion then that of the *Auguſtane Confeſſion*; and to bring in no ſtrangers. Which Oath he palpably now violalating; firſt, by going about to alter the Religion; then by endeavouring to enſlave *Sweden*, by making it to be a *Province* of the Kingdome of *Poland*, *Anno* 1599. he was in a full aſſembly of the States of *Sweden*, rejected and depoſed; and his ſonne *Ladiſlaus* (then an Infant) choſen in his place: But with this Condition, if within ſix moneths he were ſent into *Sweden*, there to be brought up in the Proteſtant Religion.

Ladiſlaus, Sonne of *Sigiſmund*, not being ſent into *Sweden* 5
according to the Condition of his Election, loſt his Title unto the Kingdome. And

Charles Duke of *Sudermanland*, the third and youngeſt Sonne, of *Guſtavus*, and the deliverer of his country frō the oppreſſion of the *Polack*, was choſen King, in the yeare, 1601. 6

Guſtavus Adolphus, the Sonne of *Charles*, ſucceeded his Father, *Anno* 1612. being then preſent, and hitherto the ſucceſſefull *Aſſertor* of the *German* liberty.

Here may it fairely be obſerved: 1. That all the poſterity of *Guſtavus* (which with himſelfe are ſeven in number) 7
were eyther Kings, or elected to a Kingdome, unto the third and fourth generation. The laſt whereof and the ſeuenth in order, is the preſent *Guſtavus*: 2. Obſerve, that *Guſtavus Ericus*, the Grandfather of this *Guſtavus Adolphus*, obtained a Kingdome by delivering his Countrey from the tyranny of the *Danes*: *Charles* his father of delivering it from the *Pole*. In which heroicall diſpoſition of his Anceſtors, *Guſtavus Adolphus* now ſucceedes his father and Grandfather; in undertaking this preſent warre, for the aſſerting of *Germany*, from the preſſures of the preſent Emperour: 3. Beſides that this Prince is deſcended of a Family of *Deliverers*; there ſeemes to be another *Owen* in his Stile as well as in his *Pedigree*: he writes himſelfe King of the *Goths* and *Vandalls*;

which Nations have once heretofore beene fatall unto the Empire.

This brave Prince having the the laſt three yeares had firſt a warre with the *Pole*, and then a *Peace*; was by the complaints and invitations of the *German* Princes, the next year brought over into the Empire. You have before heard of the miſeries of *Germany*: and yet had the *Proteſtant Princes* in their *Dyet* of *Leipſich*, beene modeſt in their *Remonſtrance*: they had not told you all. *Straleſund* and *Stetin*, *Mecklenburg*, and *Pomerland*, were ſo heavily oppreſſed, ſo ſorely over-layd; that they had not breath enough left, to be heard ſigh ſo farre as the Emperours Court. A ſound (we know) is uſually conueighed further along the water, then over-land: which may (perchance) be one of the reaſons, why their complaints are ſooner liſtned unto in *Sweden*, then at *Vienna*. Theſe Maritime people therefore finding no reliefe aſhoare; are forced to fetch their ſuccours, whence they uſually did their Merchandize, out of the *Balick* Sea. The King of *Sweden* is allyed with *Bogiſlaus*, Duke of *Stetin*; and with *Iohn Albert* and his brother, Dukes of *Mecklenburg*: is confederate with *Straleſunds* and *Pomerland*; and therefore likelieſt to be their Friend. His ſafety much depended upon theirs: had the Emperor beene Maſter of thoſe ports and Sea-coaſts; he would neither have beene ſo faire a Merchant to him; and might withall have proved a more dangerous, and over-maſterly a neighbour. Againe, this King now having a good peace, had therefore the better leiſure. His army being not yet caſhier'd, the reliefe would not altogether be ſo chargeable. His experience in the warres being great, his fame (now after the beating of the *Pole*, and the Imperiall Armies in *Pruſſia*,) more; he was alſo thought to be the ableſt to deliver them. His Maieſty therefore being by the pittifull and redoubled complaints of his Allyes, his confederates and neighbours, ſollicited over and over againe to come in unto their reſcue; that this bare invitation of his friends might not be cenſured for a plot betwixt them, or not to be cauſe enough for his comming: loe, he is even puld over by his enemies provocations,

cations. But for the greater Authority with the Reader, we will give you the iuſt Apologie of that Prince: the preſſing reaſons for his mooving with an Army into *Germany*, himſelfe having cauſed to be Printed: the Arguments whereof, we here abbreviate into Propoſitions.

The King of Swedens Apology and complaint.

His Maieſty firſt proteſts; That he had not ſtirred at all; no not though he had often beene warned to looke unto himſelfe: nor would he take any notice of it, untill ſome affront or maine occaſion of quarrell, had beene actually offered by the Emperour. That having beene by his oppreſſed neighbours and Confederates invited unto their reliefe, he for a long time rather expected the Emperours goodnes towards the Subiects of *Germany*, then deſired to intereſſe himſelfe againſt him, with whom he ſo much deſired the continuation of Amitie. That the quarrell was firſt begun by the Emperour; who in the late warres of *Pruſſia* betwixt *Sweden* and *Poland*, had prohibited the King of *Sweden* to make any Levies of men, or proviſion of victualls or Ammunition in *Germany*; apparently granting the ſame libertie unto his enemy the King of *Poland*. That the Emperour himſelfe had heretofore ſent two ſeverall Armies under his own Enſignes into *Pruſſia*, in the ayde of the *Pole* his enemy: the firſt in the yeare 1627. under the Command of the Duke of *Holſteyn*; and the ſecond, ſent 1630. was conducted by *Arnheim*, Marſhall of the Field unto *Walſtein*. That his Currier ryding Poſt with his packets, hath beene ſtayed; his Letters unto *Bethlem Gabor* opened, and falſe Copies publiſhed of them. That his Ambaſſadors have beene ſlighted; not admitted to Audience; not vouchſafed anſwere; forbidden to ſtay in *Germany*. That upon his ſeeking of peace, by mediation of the King of *Denmarke*, he obtained nothing but affronts and delayes: and that writing to the Colledge of *Electors* then aſſembled at *Lubeck*, 1629. he found in their anſwers by their Letters, the maine point of the buſines not once toucht upon: and ſo no remedy that way neither. That the poore Towne of *Stralſound*, (notwithſtanding it had no way wronged the Emperour, and had received aſſecurations and

Walſtein was ſaid to have given *Arnheim* his Commiſſion in theſe words; *Arnheim*, goe take 10000. men; you muſt beate the King of *Sweden* out of *Pruſſia*; and if you cannot doe it, tell him that *Walſtein* will come.

Walſtein.

promiſes of protection from the Emperour) yet had it beene blockt up by the Duke of *Freidlandt*, and the Iſland of *Rugen* lying in the Sea right againſt it, taken by the ſaid *Freidlandt*. That the Towne and Iland aforeſaid, (his Confederates) had often complayned unto him of this injuſtice, and deſired his peacefull mediation firſt, and his Armed aſſiſtance afterwards. That conſidering how things ſtood betwixt the Emperour and himſelfe, it much concerned him not to ſuffer that Iſland and Towne, to be poſſeſſed by his enemies: ſeeing they lye ſo commodiouſly for the command of the *Balticke* Sea; and ſo dangerouſly for infeſting of the Coaſts of *Sweden* which be right againſt it. That the Emperour had actually moleſted thoſe Coaſts with ſhipping; which hee had newly gotten from *Dantzicke* and other *Hanſe* Townes therabouts: had hindered the *Swediſh* trade and marchandizing upon the Coaſts of *Germany*: taken his Shippes by reprifall at Sea; layd *imbargoes* upon them to arreſt them in the Ports and Havens: and had purpoſed to make the *Sound* and Sea thereabouts, to be the ſeate of their Pyracies, to the utter undoing of the *Swediſh* trade that way, and the great moleſtation of all Nations that trafficke into thoſe ſeas. That in ayding of *Stralesundt*, hee had done no more then the King of *Denmarke* had done before him, who had lent them a Garriſon, which upon the agreement of *Denmarke* with the Emperour, the Towne had beene enforced to diſcharge (the King upon ſome occaſions being now become their enemie) and that not till then, had hee taken the Towne under his protection. That his owne comming with an Army into the bounds of the Empire, was under publicke proteſtation of no hoſtilitie meant unto the Empire, or perſon of the Emperour. That his comming was principally to relieve that diſtreſſed Prince his Coſſin and Confederate, the Duke of *Stetyn* and *Pomeren* miſerably at that time, and ſo for three yeares had beene injuriouſly oppreſſed by the Emperour. That hee was not onely ingaged by ancient Allyances and Confederacies, to ayde the ſtate of *Pomerland* thus diſtreſſed, ſpoyled, taken, and diſarmed: But it concerned him alſo in point of ſtate and

good

good policie, not to ſuffer his enemie to bee Maſter of thoſe Coaſts of the *Balticke* Sea: Whence hee might at pleaſure infeſt *Sweden*, and at his leyſure and importunitie invade it. That his League with the ſaid Duke, was *Defenſive* onely: and not for any *Offenſive* warre againſt the Emperour. That in recovering of the Ile of *Ruger*, hee had rather fayrely turned out, then beaten out, the *Imperialiſts*. That the end of his comming, was no more then the relieſe of *Stralesundt* and *Pomerlandt*, and the ſecuring of his owne Dominions of *Sweden*: too neere unto which hee perceived the Emperour to bee now encroaching, with no good intention, That if peace and ſafetie might on thoſe parts bee aſſured, hee would no further enter into the Empire.

Theſe Complaints, Aggrievances, and Provocations of the King of *Sweden* were in faire and reſpectfull manner, by Letters firſt preſented unto the Emperour: and when that courſe brought no redreſſe, then for juſtification of his proceedings, and by way of Apology, were the Circumſtances enlarged, and the whole printed for the world to judge upon; and that all indifferent Readers might there receive an account of the Cauſes, which at length conſtrayned him to mooue with an Army into *Germany*.

Theſe Reaſons much ſatisfied the world, made the pretence of his comming fayre. And that the enterprize or this great Champion of the *Germane* Libertie, might bring Credit with it, aſwell as ſtrength, both rumored and feared every where in the Empire it was, that divers other Potent Princes were with him intereſſed in the Action: and that there was a private Vnion made betwixt *England*, *France*, *Ruſsia*, *Sweden*, *Venice*, and *Holland* (all then at difference with the Princes of the houſe of *Auſtria*) and that *He* was the Head of that Vnion. The preſumption for this ſuſpition was, that the Ambaſſadours of theſe Princes were obſerved lately to have beene together in his Campe; and beleeved to have communicated both Counſells and intelligence with him. How much redoubted his comming was, appeares by the preparations made againſt him, in the places neereſt unto

The King of *Sweden* thought to be choſen Head of the Vnion.

The Emperors preparations againſt him.

to his Landing. The Townes of *Pomerland* and its neighbour *Brandenburg*, were full of Imperiall Garriſons. In *Mecklenburg* were the new intruded Duke *Walſtein* his forces. In *Sileſia* were all thoſe Bridges and paſſages upon the River *Oder* next unto *Brandenburg*, ſtopt up, manned and fortified, about the beginning of *Iune* 1630. To make good the Bridge of *Deſſaw* upon the *Elve*, (which was the paſſage towards *Magdenburg*) are foureſcore Companies of Horſe and Foote ſent downe from *Swartzenburg*, *Coburg*, and other places. Into *Pomerland* are there more Forces ſent out of *Magdenburg*. *Torquato Conti* was now appointed Generall of the Imperiall Forces in *Pomerland*. He and Colonell *Hatzfelt* are very preſſing with the Duke of *Stetin*, abſolutely to deliver them up the paſſages of *Gartz* and *Grippenhagen* upon the *Oder*: which it ſeemes that they wrung out of him. The King of *Sweden*, finally, hath no Towne to friend but the diſtreſſed *Stralesundt* onely, neere which he might ſafely land his Forces. Much for the Kings advantage perchance it made, and the leſſe reſiſtance he found; that *Walſtein*, (who had heretofore domineer'd in thoſe parts, and who had left thoſe troopes behind which the King here found engarriſonned:) was now out of the way; and that *Torquato Conti* (a man not beloued,) then commanded in thoſe parts. *Walſtein* was about the time of the Kings firſt comming, either buſied about his new Dutchy of *Mecklenburg*, or elſe waiting at *Memmingen* by *Regenſpurg*, to receive a new Commiſſion to goe Generall againſt the *French*: where the Princes of the Empire ſorely complaining againſt him, he was by the Emperour (as you have heard) quite diſcharged of his Army. *Tilly* was not yet come ſo high up, ſince the warres with *Denmarke*. Plainely, the King of *Swedens* great advantage it was, that he was too much ſlighted by the Emperour: who though he fortified places, yet did he not time enough employ any of his great Captaines againſt him. And that the Emperour abuſed himſelfe too much, in too much ſlighting the King; appeares by his Anſwere unto the Duke of *Saxonyes* Letters, in *Auguſt*, giving him intelligence how farre the

The Kings advantages,

(Which was about the end of *Aug.* 1630. by which action of the Emperours, he with his left hand chopt off his right.

King

King was already advanced into *Pomerland*; Which was; *How that himselfe was so well provided for him; that he was confident "to scatter any power of the enemy.* A despised enemy we have "by experience seene, to have made foule worke: and God "mostly workes by such despised meanes; that himselfe may "therein be observed to be the *Lord of Hosts*. Further then this, we will neither *Comment* nor *Divine*.

Before the Kings setting foote within the Empire; he in *April* sends forth his gracious Declaration of his intent, to maintaine *Stralesundt*, &c. Which the Emperour might well take for a Herald at Armes to proclaime his comming, and so have prevented it; and not complaine afterwards (as he did) *that he stoale in vpon.* His *Maiestie* having thus declared himselfe for *Stralsundt*, makes his first warre for the freeing of that. A small Iland there is in the *Baltick* Sea, within some halfe league off *Stralesundt*, called *Rugen*. A ragged square plot it is, some seuen Dutch leagues over. This Ile being a Principalitie of the Duke of *Pomerlands*; was (like other of his Lands) rather infested now, then guarded, by the *Imperialists*. That the King therefore might cleare that Ile, and his owne way both at once; and leave no enemy to trouble his landing, or to come upon his backe: he gives order before his owne setting forth of *Stockholme* (the chiefe Citty of *Sweden*) to haue that Iland cleered also. About mid-*April* therefore did Sir *Alexander Lesly* Governour of *Stralesundt*, assisted with some 18. ships of *Sweden* (which had wintered in the *Pilau*, and other Ports thereby) prepare to fall upon that and *Hiddenzee*, another little Ilet, hard by, on the Northwest; both which being open places, were by the end of *May* well cleared of the *Imperialists*. One indifferent strong Sconce by *Brandishagen*, against *Rugen*, on *Stalesundt* side, there is, into which the Imperialists beaten out of *Rugen*, had thrust themselves; Those of *Stralesundt* being now newly strengthned from *Sweden*; upon the 17th. of *June* following, with 3000. foot, and foure troope of horse, resolve to set vpon the Fort. Marching up therefore from the old Ferry, they in Battle aray present themselves before the Fort; twelve

The Ile of *Rugen* taken.

two great Shallops, and two Gallyes, well manned and furniſhed with ſhot, in the meane time, beſieging them by water. The Fort perceiving this, by a reſolute Sally, labour to hinder their Landing; but the *Swediſh* diſchargi g eight pieces of Ordnance from their boats amongſt them, quickly make them to retyre. Landing being thus gained, and their batteries raiſed, they readily diſmount the enemies Canon, and put him from his Ordnance. The 18. day, the *Swediſh* Generall, demands up the Fort: their anwer was, to defend it to the laſt drop of bloud. The next morning, there was from *Brandiſhagen* (which lyes over againſt the Fort) a Boate of freſh water ſent unto their reliefe. The *Swediſh* Shallops give fire apace upon the Boate; in reſcue of it, doth the Garriſon ſally out: a great ſmoke ariſing from their ſhooting in the skirmiſh, is by the winde carried full into the Fort; the *Swediſh* apprehending the advantage, fall pell mell upon it, getting among the ſallyers into the Fort, ere ever they were aware of it. Thus was it taken without the loſſe of one man. The *Swediſh* being Maſters of the piece, put all to the ſword whom the next day they found in Armes. Two hundred priſoners they tooke; ſixe pieces of Ordnance: ſixty barrells of Biſket; much Beere and proviſions.

Sir *Alexander Lesly*, Gouernor of *Stralſundt*, who tooke in the whole Ile of *Rugen*: a brave man, as any ſerues the King.

The Fort of *Brandſhagen* taken.

Whileſt theſe things were thus a doing, his *Maieſty* is in his owne Countrey buſie about imbarking his men. Foot 12. thouſand brought he out of *Weden* with him, (for ſo many were ſeene march) and ſome 3000. horſe. His Fleete was about ſome hundred and thirty Ships of all ſorts. With theſe having beene five weekes at Sea, (whereof a whole month in one place) he came to an Anchor neare the little Iland of *Ruen*, which lyes a mile diſtant from one of the mouthes of the River *Oder* called *Pennemundt*. Hence on ſhipboard might he diſcerne all the Sea-coaſt to be full of fires: as if they had beene ſo many Courts of Guard; and that the whole Country had beene layd againſt him. The King towards euening, rowing into the *Oders* mouth to make diſcovery; returnes to his fleete with this newes: *That the Coaſt was cleere.* And ſo it was indeede; theſe fires were but made to amaze the King:

King: for the enemies were all retyred to their Leaguer at *Anclam*: there to ioyne themſelves together to bid him battaile at his landing. And it is the wonder of the world that they did not. But their hearts failed them. Immediately hereupon, his *Maieſtie* gaue order for the landing of the Foote or Infantery: which was done in great Sloopes, or flat bottom'd Boates, provided for that purpoſe; whereof each one would carry an hundred Souldiers, with two Field-pieces. His *Maieſty* himſelfe in perſon landed firſt, at that Dorp or Village in the Ile of *Uſedome*, called *Pennemundt*; being at that preſent waited upon by two *Swediſh* Earles, that were Brethren, Grave *Neels*, and Grave *Joachim* by name. The King being landed, immediately taking a ſhovell in his hand, falls to digging for the caſting up of a trench: and ſo after him doe all the reſt in their turnes; the one halfe ſtill labouring upon the trench; and the other halfe ſtanding to their armes. Next him were landed Colonell *Lillie*, Colonel *Cag*, and Colonel *Hanſſon*, all *Swediſh*, with their Regiments. Next to them, Landed the Lord *Reay*, Colonel; together with Colonel *Spence*, and Colonel *Magdougall*, with their three Scottiſh Regiments. Laſt of all landed the Lord *Falkenberg*, Lord Marſhall of his *Maieſties* houſhold; together with Colonell *Holl*, and Colonel *Derickſon*, with their three Regiments of *High-Dutch-men*. All theſe eleven foreſaid Regiments, were landed, and entrenched before day-light. Vpon the ſecond of *Iuly*, after the Souldiers had a little repoſed and refreſhed themſelves; his *Maieſtie* commanded the Cannon, baggage, and victuals to be landed; and becauſe the Army had beene ſo long at Sea, he thought it expedient to reſt them there for two daies: in which ſpace he landed his Cavalry or horſe alſo.

This Ile of *Uſedome*, where the King was now landed, is ſituate not farre from *Stralesſundt*, and to the South-Eaſt of it; toward *Stetin*: betwixt the *Balticke* Sea on the North, that mouth of the *Oder* (which from the River *Pene* diſemboguing into it, is called *Pennemundt*) on the Weſt; the great freſh Lake, called the *Friſchaff* on the South, and the Ile of The Ile of *Uſedome* taken.

Wollin on the Eaſt. Vpon the fourth of *July*, twelve troopes of the Kings Horſe together with three thouſand Musketiers, went out upon a party; the King himſelfe commanding them. They marched upwards three miles into the Ile of *Vſedome*; where they ſaw divers troopes of the enemies, but all of them ranne away. The 5th. and 6th. dayes were ſpent in hearing of Ambaſſadors, from the Dukes of *Mecklenburg*, *Pomeren* and the Towne of *Straleſundt*. On the 7. day, his *Maieſty* leaking Colonell *Kuip-howſen* (then Sergean, Maior Generall) with two Regiments of Foote to defend the workes at *Penemunde*; with the reſt of the Army paſſing over the water on the Weſt ſide of the Ile; marches up to the Towne of *Wolgaſt*. Here had the enemy a ſtrong Sconce on the water-ſide, directly againſt the Caſtle upon the Ile of *Vſedome*: which Sconce his *Maieſty* thought fitteſt to be the firſt aſſaulted. As hee marched towards this peice, the *Crabats* falling out, begun the Skirmiſh with the Kings Horſe, who being preſently ſeconded, with the foot, conſtrained the *Crabats* to give ground with great loſſe. Thoſe of them which were not killed in the fight, making great haſt unto the River, by which they thought to ſwim over unto the Caſtle; were all miſerably drowned. Thoſe within the Sconce, thus perceiving their fellowes misfortune: in great haſte, retyred into their boats: where being hardly charged by the Kings men, the moſt of thē were alſo drowned. Their confuſion was ſo great, that three hundred of thē then periſhed by the ſword, or in the water. The whole night following, the Canon from the Caſtle playd very hard upon the Kings folke, but with little, or no loſſe unto his *Maieſty*. Vpon the eighth of *July*, his *Maieſty* leaving Sir *Iohn Bannier*, to keepe the Sconce that was taken; marched from thence unto a Cloiſter, called *Pudegla*; which was a ſtrong paſſage upon the *Ile* of *Vſedome*. But the enemy, before the Kings comming, had ſpoyled and pillaged all that there was, and then ran away. Here the King lodged all night.

Vpon the 9th. of *July*, the King marched to the *Swine*, on the Eaſt ſide of the Iland: where the other mouth of the *O-*

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der, diſemboketh into the *Baltick* Sea. There found he a ſcoce ſtrongly builded indeed, yet but weakly defended: the Garriſon, upon the firſt ſight of the Kings troopes, abandoning the place, and ſhifting themſelves over the River, into the neighbour Ile of *Wollin*. This place which the *Oder*, the *Friſchaff*, the Sea, and a little fret of water, make into an Iland; lyes on the Eaſt ſide of *Vſedome*: and here the King having found Boates, immediately followes the *Imperialiſts*. Here had the Duke of *Saxonies* ſiſter a Caſtle; which the enemy fleeing out of, miſerably defaced with fire. And now thoſe that lately fled into the Ile, as alſo the reſt that were there in ſeverall Garriſons before; did not onely abandon their ſtrong Sconces, and Fortifications; but left, not their Canon onely for haſte, but their very horſes alſo: together with a great deale of their baggage. There found we two Leopards in a Cage, left here by the Duke of *Friedland*, who had thought to have preſented them unto the Emperour.

In theſe two Hands of *Vſedome* and *Wollin*, the King remained ſome twelve dayes; untill he had made ſufficient proviſion of Galleys and other Veſſels, for the tranſporting of his Army through that great *Friſch-haff*, and from thence up the River of *Oder*, unto *Stetin*: which was done the 26. of *July*. This Towne of *Stetin*, is the Seate and Title of the Duke of *Pomeren* and *Stetin*. Scituate within Land it is, South of the *Friſchhaff*, being the chiefe Town of the Countrey, and the only good Towne of thoſe quarters, in ſole poſſeſſion of the Duke, that was free from *Imperiall* Garriſons. And now the King landing his men at a Caſtle within an *Engliſh* mile of the Towne about ten a clocke in the forenoone, preſently puts them into Battaglia. Grave *Neeles* and the Lord of *Reay* commanding foure hundred Muskettiers, that day had the Vantguard, and were both commanded to march toward the North port of the City, called the *Mill-Port*; the King in the mean time with three hundred Muskettiers, making towards a Horn-worke, that was then a building, within a Musket-ſhot of the Dukes Pallace. Whiles this was a doing, all the Ladies and Gentlewomen, were in the win-

The King goes to *Stetin*.

dowes, and upon the Leades, looking upon the King and his folkes. All this while there appeared not any one man out of the Towne to make any defence: which the King now obſerving, at laſt ſends a Trumpet towards the Ports, to demand Entrance. This meſſage made knowne unto the Duke, a Colonell, who had the command of ſome 1200. Muſkettiers within the Towne, is ſent to parly with the King. His meſſage was, an aſſurance from the Duke his Maſter, that he had reſolved to ſtand *Neuter*. His Maieſtie nothing contented with this meſſage, ſends the Colonel backe againe vnto the Duke: commanding him to tell his Maſter from him; that he was not come into *Germany* for any private ends of his owne; but ſent for, by him eſpecially, and other diſtreſſed Princes, that by force of his Armes, they might be free from the yoake which lay ſo heavy upon their necks: and therefore, great reaſon had the Duke to open his Ports, and to receive him into his Towne. And this if the Duke refuſed to doe; he bad the Meſſenger aſſure him, that he would enter it, by a breach made through his Caſtle: giving preſent order thereupon, to haue the Canon mounted. The Duke upon the receipt of this round meſſage, adviſes with his Counſell a while: who having concluded what was on the ſudden to be done, the Port is opened, the draw bridge let downe, and the Duke in his Coach iſſues out, waited upon by ſome Gentlemen on Horſe-backe; addreſſing himſelfe directly towards the King. Vpon the meeting, much conference paſſes about ſurrendring of the Towne; the King preſſing, and the Duke excuſing: altogether deſirous to ſtand *Neuter*. Of this would not the King heare at any hand; making uſe of that (which in Dutch is a Proverbiall ſaying,) *They that are not with me, are againſt me.* And now the King taking notice of the Ladies and Gentlewomen on the Leades and Windowes; Coſin (ſayes he to the Duke) if you meane to keepe me out of the Towne, you muſt ſet other manner of people to guard it, then theſe Ladies; for Ile aſſure you, they will never be able to hold out againſt any one company of my Souldiers. The Duke perceiving his Maieſtie, though

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pleaſant, yet earneſt; deſires leave to goe againe into the Towne. The King conſents unto the motion: but ſent order withall unto the Lord *Reay*, to guard the Dukes perſon thitherward: and that when the draw bridge was let downe, and the Ports ſet open for the Dukes Coach; to enter the Towne together with it; and if it were poſſible, to make good the Port. The Lord *Reay* having enough of his inſtructions, ſo diſpoſes his Muskettiers (which were *Scottiſh*) that two hundred of them marcht before the Coach; and muſt needs therefore enter before the Dukes Coach could: ſo that this piece of ſervice was done, even as the King would have it. Thus the Lord *Reay* being entred within the outer Port, the Towne Garriſon retyred from thence within the inner Port: and the *Scots* entring pell-mell with them, that Port was alſo taken. By this did the King preſently enter the Towne, with his whole Army. The Duke ſeeing this, diſmiſſes his owne forces, which he had till then there kept in Garriſon: who thereupon tooke preſent oath and pay, for the Kings ſervice.

Stetin finely ta-ken.

The next morning the King commanded Sir *Iohn Bannier* Generall of his Infantery, to take with him 600. *Swediſh* muskettiers, under the command of Grave *Ioachim*, and 600. *Scottiſh* Muskettiers, under the Command of the Lord *Reay*; to make an aſſault upon the Towne of *Damme*, lying a mile to the South-eaſt of *Stetin*. The Towne had on that ſide but one approach unto it; and that was a narrow cauſey leading thorough the Mariſh, upon which the Towne ſtood. These 1200. men now advanc't almoſt as farre as a Sconce, which guarded the end of the Towne; a Country Boore comming up to the Commanders, proffers them his ſervice to leade them a ſecret way thorough the Mariſh: by which meanes, they might more eaſily fall on, upon the other ſide unperceived. But the Burgers of the Towne, (who it ſeemes had intelligence with the Kings forces) now ſending unto them; deſired them to have the patience but to ſtay untill night, and then they promiſed to give them entrance by a private poſterne gate. This delay was cunningly projected by the

A deſigne upon *Damme.*

Townesmen; and ſerved them to very good purpoſe: for had the Kings forces taken the Towne by aſſault, then, by the Law of Armes, had the pillage of the whole Towne beene their owne. Thus, (vpon what reaſons or feares, I know not) the enemies Garriſon conſiſting of ſome two hundred and fiftie Musketiers, and forty horſe, forſooke the Towne that very evening: taking their way Eaſtwards, towards the next Towne of *Stargard*. With the Burgers of this Towne of *Stargard*, the King having good intelligence; inſtantly ſends thither. But whether it was that he thought not fit too farre to give truſt unto thoſe Burgers, and to adventure his owne men upon their honeſties; (eſpecially ſince their Garriſon was thus lately reenforced:) ſure it is, that he employed none of his owne men, but committed the charge unto that Colonell and his men, who had layne in Garriſon in *Stetin*, before his *Maieſties* comming thither. This Colonel knowing the Country perfectly came by night upon the Towne: and having given advertiſement unto theſe Burgers within, with whom he had correſpondency; they ſecretly opening a Port unto him, give him preſent entrance. He thus got in, preſently cuts in pieces the *Corps du guard*, which had the Watch upon the Market place. This done, he without ſtay goes towards another Port, which had two ſtrong Sconces before it; theſe he preſently aſſaulted, killing three hundred and fiftie Souldiers which he found within them. This act, had like to have loſt him the towne, for the reſt of the town Garriſon, (which were aſleepe in their beds when he at firſt entred,) now hearing the noyſe, ſtart up, and betake themſelves unto their Armes; ſhutting withall, the Port behinde the Kings Colonell, who was now buſily employed, upon the execution, within the Sconces. Very hard had it beene for him to have entered the Towne againe, but that the Burgers at the ſame time taking Armes; by force opoened another Port for him. The Garriſon by this time having gathered into head upon the Market-place, now finding themſelves too weake to reſiſt ſo great forces; retire themſelves into the Church ſteeple: but now the *Swediſh* turning the Canon

Damme taken.

Stargard taken.

Canon which they had gotten in the two Sconces, againſt the ſteeple: the Garriſon forthwith yeeld themſelves, conditioning to goe off with their Armes and lives ſaved.

There were found in this Towne of *Stargard*, 500. barrels of meale; much powder and ſhot, and ſome Ordnance. The King after fortifies the place, with five new Bulwarkes, three halfe Moones, and ſuch other Out-works. Whileſt this was a doing, *Cammin* a Byſhops See, butting upon *Wollin*, is alſo taken. The rough method of warre ſhould have falne upon the Towne of *Colbergen* next: but this being to tough a piece is let alone till afterwards. *Cammin* taken.

The City of *Stetin* being thus taken, and the King uſing the people royally; they begin to bethinke themſelves of the good alteration they already felt: holding themſelves happy, were but the King made their Protector. The overture of a League firſt, and the Articles afterward, being now treated upon and concluded: were about the tenth of *Auguſt* publiſhed. This League conquered him the whole Countrey. The King in a preface prefixed to the Articles, excuſes the Duke: profeſſing to have taken the Towne againſt his will. The Duke alſo ſubioynes his owne Apology: that hee had beene forced to this league. 1. For that having no ayd from others. 2. He was too weake, to have reſiſted the King. 3. And that his Subiects having beene diſarmed by their pretended Defenders the *Imperialiſts*. 4. Yea, ſo impoveriſhed, that they had not meanes ſufficient left, barely to live upon: were thereby diſabled to defend themſelves. 5. So that having for three yeares together endured the hardeſt of oppreſſions: they were deſirous rather to be freed then further engaged, in a new warre and dangers. 6. Eſpecially having beene ſo much diſcouraged to ſerve the Emperour, who never kept promiſe with them. 7. As for the Kings proceedings, his courſes taken to eaſe them, were iuſt and Chriſtian. 8. And ſeeing that, very chary he was, to oppoſe the Emperour. 9. As purpoſing only to reſtraine the inſolency of theſe new oppreſſors. 10. Therefore he thought this League to be his beſt courſe, both to recouer his owne eſtate, and to ſecure *A league betwixt the King and* Bogiſlaus, *Duke of* Stetin, *and* Pomeren.

ſecure *Swedens*. Since therefore the King had paſt his royall word, to be a friend, and not a foe, unto all places which he ſhould recover: he profeſſes himſelfe willinger to entruſt his Countrey in the Kings hands, then to hazard the loſſe of all. Fourteene Articles the King and Duke then agreed upon: of all which, theſe two chiefely concerne our Story. 1. That this warre was onely for defence of the wronged, and not to iniure the Emperour. 2. That all places recovered by the King, ſhould be reſtored unto the Duke. An excuſe beſides theſe ten former reaſons, is by the Duke ſent unto the Emperour: which with the reſt of the Articles we leaue to be read in the *Engliſh* Printed booke of them.

Stetin being thus agreed with the King, willingly gives him 50000. Rixe Dollars, and the Country as many: The Merchants alſo granting him a ſubſidie of Tonnage and Poundage, of three and a halfe, *per Centum*. The King takes care firſt, for the guarding of the City: to which end it is not onely fortified with new and ſtrange workes, but with a ſtanding Leaguer, or Campe-royall alſo; formed at the Townbridge, on the eaſt-banke of the *Oder*; over which, the noble *Guſtauus Horne*, Field-Marſhall to his Maieſty, in his abſence commands in chiefe. And here the Army being muſtered, and payd, is ſent abroad upon the errand they came for: and that one place might not helpe another, hee with ſeverall troupes falls at once upon ſeverall pieces. To ſhew what every troupe every day did, were to write a *Diary*, not a *Story*; and to take away the pleaſure of the reading. In a continued narration, therefore, will we proſecute the Story of every City, and Action by it ſelfe, from the beginning to the end of it; and then goe back againe to another: taking each in his order of place, and time; that the Kings proceedings may the more cleerely be diſcerned.

A Camp formed by *Stetin*.

The Method of the Story.

By this time, are we come to the middle of *Auguſt*: and the King by the taking of *Stargard*, advanc'd as farre into the Countrey, as right againſt *Gartz* and *Grippenhagen*; is deſired by thoſe of *Stetin*, to beſiege theſe two Townes; becauſe the Garriſons that lay in them, uſed to ramble over all the Countrey,

trey, to ſpoyle, and plunder, and fetch in contribution. But the King perceiving thoſe ſtrong places would take up too much time, and he having a Deſigne to cleere the Dutchy of *Meclenburg*, as well as *Pomeren*; turnes halfe his Army backe againe to theſe quarters: with a purpoſe in time to take the chiefe paſſages thither, before the enemy ſhould prevent him, and put him thereby to more trouble. Paſſing therefore beyond *Stetin*, and towards *Stralesundt* againe, he ſets him downe before *Wolgaſt*; whoſe Fort (as you heard) he had before taken. This is the chiefe Citty of the little Dutchy of *Wolgaſt* in *Pomeren*. The Towne he by fine force tooke in, wherein he found good ſtore of proviſion, both of Corne and Ammunition. In the heate of the aſſault, the Garriſon and chiefe Citizens retyre themſelves into the Citadell or Caſtle; this now the King aſſieges. *Torquati Conti* the Emperours Generall in thoſe parts, lay with his Army at that time at *Anclam*, a Towne hard by *Wolgaſt*: he hoping to reſcue the piece, comes with three Regiments towards the reliefe of it: but is well beaten for his labour; ſaid to looſe 12. Enſignes, and 3 Cornets in the skirmiſh. The Caſtle thus defeated of her ſuccours, parlies; the Conditions deſired by the Garriſon, were, To march out like Souldiers with full Armes, Colours flying, matches lighted, and their ſwords by their ſides. The King will let them go out with no more then white ſtaues in their hands. Thoſe termes refuſed, the King falls to mining, and with two Boats well man'd and furniſh'd with Ordnance, hee comes to the *Oder*-bridge, there landing and enquartering his men; Sends for the Duke of *Stetin*; he comes, they make their approaches towards the walls; which he round beſets from the *Oder-bridge* unto the Mill-gate, raiſing Sconces and Batteries every where, where the ground was higheſt. Eight thouſand Canon ſhot are beſtowed upon the Walls. They parly againe, and the King condeſcends: ſixe hundred Souldiers thereupon in five Companies, all under the command of Colonell *Sclefter*, come forth: Three Companies of theſe five, preſently take Oath and pay for the

Wolgaſt beſieged.

The Caſtle taken.

Kings ſervice: the reſt march away. This was done in the end of *Auguſt*: and whereas the Queen of *Sweden* was hereafter to come over, the Caſtle was repaired and furniſhed for her Majeſties reſidence. In this ſiege the King loſt an hundred and twenty men.

Torquato Conti the Imperiall Generall retires his army. *Anckſam* taken.

Whileſt the King beſieges this Caſtle; *Torquato* perceiving no good to be done upon him: and that 8000. freſh were newly come to the King from *Riga* in *Leifland*; which might make the place too hot for him, riſes with his Army from his Quarter at *Anckſam*, marching directly towards *Gartz*: about which, the *Imperialiſts* by the King turn'd out of other places, and others newly ſent into *Pomerland*, began now to aſſemble. There he formes a Campe, which continued, till the Towne was taken. He thus departing from *Anckſam*, leaves *Eyſtat* Governour in it, before which, ſo ſoone as the King preſented his forces; the Cittizens riſe up for the King againſt the Garriſon: and let the *Swedens* into the Towne. This was done while the King was yet at the ſiege of *Wolgaſt*.

Stolp *taken.*

Anckſam thus obtained, the King purpoſing a deſigne for a voyage into *Mecklenburg*, firſt cauſes the paſſage of *Stolp* to be taken. This Towne is neere unto *Anckſam*, ſome five Leagues to the Weſt of *Stetin*, and toward the Sea; by which he had a full paſſage into *Mecklenburg*. After which, he at ſeverall times alſo takes *Trebbeſes*, *Gripnitz*, and *Trepotw*, three other chiefe paſſages, as we ſhall tell when we ſpeake of the Kings expedition into *Mecklenburg*.

A Faſt.

We are now come to *September*: Vpon the firſt Friday whereof, the King commands a ſolemne faſt to be kept thorough his Army and League at *Stetin*. Vpon that day the *Imperialiſts*, fall upon the outer guards of the Kings Campe, and cut them off, putting the whole Leaguer into danger: who now taking the alarme, beat off the enemies for that time. The next day they making another bravado before the trenches, ſome 30. of them were taken Priſoners by the *Swedes*. That which made the *Imperialiſts* thus bold, was the confidence they put in their leaders skil, who very well knew the

Sweden

Swedens Campe and Quarters. And this was the Traytor *Quint*, who ſerving the King of *Sweden* (as Lievtenant Colonell to the Lord *Falkenburg*) had run away to the enemy, when as he was the day before ſent out upon a party againſt them. He being corrupted to kill the King, thought this way to have done it: and at this time too, when the whole Leaguer were at their Devotions. This *Quint* had another companion in the Kings Leaguer; one *John Baptiſta*, an *Italian*, whom the Lord *Falkenburg* had made Captaine of a troope of horſe. This fellow revealing it to a third; the treaſon was diſcovered, and he attached the ſame day that *Quint* ran away. He at his execution confeſſed, that they had ſerved in *Tillyes* Campe from whence they immediately came with inſtructions from him and the *Ieſuites*, to have kild the King: which they often attempting to have done, either their owne courage or the opportunity ſerved them not. The King a little after this, muſters, and payes his forces newly arrived to him out of *Pruſſia*, for which he a while ſtayed, without doing much, and now abroad are they again going, his Army being very much increaſed by theſe, and 36. troopes of horſe newly entertained.

Towards the middle of this Sept. he ſends abroad 3000. horſe, and 12000. foot, to be doing, and to take in paſſages. Then are the 2. Townes of *Griffenberg* and *Golnaw* taken in: lying to the Eaſt of *Stetin*, betwixt that and the Town of *Colberg*. Sends alſo to view the ſtrong places of *Gartz* and *Grippenhagen*: of which more when we come to thoſe Siedges. But here let me inſert an unheard-of cruelty of the Imperialiſts, upon the Towns of *Paſewalk* and *Uckermund*, ſome few leagues Weſt of *Stetin*. About mid-September, old ſtile, the *Imperiall* Garriſon under the command of the cruell Colonell *Gotze*, having plundered and forſaken the Town, and carried the chiefe men away; on the 4. of September 2. troopes of *Swediſh* horſe being 140. ſtrong, enter the forſaken Town; falling with the Citizens to repaire & fortifie, 3000. *Imperialiſts* of the Army by *Gartz* hearing of this, take it again from them, *Sept.* 7th. and after moſt valiant reſiſtance, beate, kill,

The cruelty of the *Imperialiſts* at *Paſwalke.* and drive out the *Swediſh*; fall to torturing the Towneſmen for their money, crying, *Give vs money or bloud*; raviſh women and girles even in the open ſtreets, and Church-yards; yea women in Child-bed: kill and abuſe the men, fire the houſes & the people in them: thruſt ſtraw into cellars where children are hidden, and then ſet fire to it: burne the Churches, maſſacre the Miniſters, and then Maske up and downe the ſtreets in their Coapes and Surpliſſes; and at length burne down the whole Town, laughing at it, *how finely doth Paſwalk burne.* Thus their rapes and rayages continue till the 11. or 12th. of *September*: After which they goe to *Uckerwundt*, a Towne hard by (from whence theſe 140. *Swediſh* were thought to have come) this they fall upon and take: uſe as before; keepe the gates ſhut, and ſo burne the people in the Towne.

and at *Vckermundt.*

To returne to the King. About this time it ſeemes had his Majeſty taken the oppreſſions and complaints of the people of *Magdenburg* into his royall conſideration; and therefore ſends ſome forces by Sea thither, to ioyne with the Duke of *Saxon Lowenburg*, which *Swediſh* aydes, *Sept.* 25. land at *Daſſou* three leagues from *Lubeck*: of which more when we handle the whole ſtory of * *Magdenburg* together. And about that time himſelfe in perſon goes to *Rubenitz* in *Mecklenburg*: where his Campe is pitcht *Sept.* 28. of which more when we ſpeake of *Mecklenburg.*

* Namely where we ſpeake of *Tilly.*

The *Swedes* beaten by the *Imperialiſts.* *October* 5. certain *Crabats* making a Brave before the trenches at *Stetin*, drive away the Cattell thereby feeding. In reſcue of them, out ſally 1000. *Swedes.* The *Crabats* faine a flight; the *Swedes* too raſhly purſuing, fall into an ambuſh: there begins a fierce skirmiſh; in which the *Swedes* overlaid by numbers, looſe ſome 300. brave men, two Captaines of horſe, and one Sergeant Major; the reſt being glad to get off with their lives. The *Swedes* meditating revenge, fall out a while after upon the *Imperialiſts* cattell by *Grippenhagen* and *Gartz*, driving away ſome 300. from both places, and come fairely with them to their quarter. Many the like feates of Armes were dayly practiſed betwixt them.

Leaving

Leaving them, therefore, thus imployed; turne we now aſide unto the backe part of *Pomeren* towards *Pruſſia*; and to its Neighbour, the land of *Marck*, on the Eaſt ſide of the *Oaer* towards *Poland*: that having altogether diſpatched thoſe parts, our method may not be diſturbed in other places. Vpon Auguſt 1. 1630. the *Swediſh* forces that had bin left about *Brunsberg* in *Pruſſia*, 5. leagues from *Elbing*, ever ſince the Kings late warres there: expreſſe command then came from the Lord *Oxenſterne* (the Kings Generall there) unto Colonell *Freitz Ros*, a *Germane*, that within 3. dayes he ſhould ſhip his 8. Companies in the *Pelau*, and goe towards the King in *Pomeren*. The ſame command alſo comes unto *Robert Monco*, that was, Lieftenant Colonell unto my Lord *Reay* for the Diviſion which he commanded; conſiſting of 5. companies of old ſouldiers. For their tranſportations, were 9. ſhips appointed: a ſtorme at Sea ariſing, the fleet was ſcattered: 7. of them with much adoe making their Port, arrived at *Pennemund* in *Pomeren*. The other two being alſo parted; that ſhip wherein *Monco* and 3. of his Cõpanies were, wa. by ſtreſſe of weather *Aug.* 18. run aground before the Towne of *Rugenwaldt* in the backe part of *Pomeren* next to *Pruſſia*. Here did a double feare amaze them: eyther drowning in the ſea; or having their throates cut by the Imperialiſts, then Maſters of all that Countrey. Putting this laſt unto the venter, they upon a floate of boards tyed with roapes together (by the mercy of God) ſafely recover the ſhoare. This towne and Caſtle of *Rugenwaldt*, was then in poſſeſſion of the Emperors forces: but ſo had God directed the ſeaſons; that the Garriſon was then gone, to draw, with other of their fellowes, to an head about *Colberg*: having left no more ſouldiers in the Towne, but what they thought ſufficient to enforce the Country to bring in theyr weekly Contributions. The Government of both Towne and Caſtle, was for the time entruſted with the former Governour, put in by the Duke of *Pomeren*. This Gentleman ſeeing the Scots thus gotten aſhore, ſends the Burgomaſter or Mayor of the Towne, with the Steward of his owne

A ſtrange adventure of ſome Shipwrackt *Scots*.

houſe, to ſee who they were; who underſtanding them to be of the King of *Swedens* troopes; invite them kindly to come into the Towne; laying the plot with them, how to free it from the Imperialiſts. This unlooked for curteſie needed not much deliberation for the acceptance: *Monro* (to be ſhort) agrees with the Governour, to have two Ports of the City be ſet with armed Citizens, and ſufficient armes and ammunition (their owne being ſpoyled in the Sea) for his 3. Companies, to be ſet by the entrance into the Caſtle, The Governour diſpoſes all according to the agreement: and for his owne part, that he might not be taken notice of, for complotting with the *Scots* (ſeeing he had no Commiſſion for it, from his Maſter the Duke of *Pomeren*) he now pretending ſome buſineſſe, leaves the Towne at the ſame inſtant. *Monro* that afternoone marching on the backe-ſide of the Towne, hath the Caſtle delivered unto him by the Governours men: which having received, he forthwith commands Captaine * *Bullion* (a *Walloon*) to draw out one ſquadron of choſen Muskettiers, and to fall upon thoſe Imperialiſts. This unexpected onſet as ſoone as the enemy perceived; up on Horſebacke they mount, to make reſiſtance. But *Bullion* having made himſelfe maſter of the chiefe paſſages, the enemy cryes for Quarter, and hath it granted. Two Corporalls and 11. ſoldiers being here taken Priſoners; are ranſomed afterwards by the Governour of *Colbergen*. Five dayes after this, comes directions from the Lord *Oxenſterne*, that Lieftenant Colonel *Monro*, ſhould ſtill there keepe his Garriſon, to fortifie the Caſtle, and give content unto the Citizens. The Towne being thus miraculouſly taken; the ninth ſhip, wherein *Twſanhuſe* (Lievtenant-Colonell unto Colonell *Ros* afore ſaid) was came to an anchor before the ſayd Towne: preſently agreeing to conjoyne his two Companies with *Monro*: who by this meanes being made up five Companies ſtrong, atchieves ſome feates of armes about the Country with good ſucceſſe, as advantage and opportunity ſerved.

* Since this made Quartermaſter Generall, to the Kings cavalry.

Rugenwalde ſtrangely taken.

Entrance being thus happily and miraculouſly gained by the

the *Scots* in theſe parts; the King now perceiving that God himſelfe had herein fought for him (as himſelfe moſt thankfully and religiouſly expreſſed, when as my Lord *Reay* firſt brought his Majeſty word of this *Rugenwaldt*) begins to conceive a good hope, that the reſt would alſo follow the ſame fortune. Order is therefore given for the forming of a pretty Army about the ſame Towne. Thitherward in October following, is the gallant *Banditzen* ſent with a power of horſe: Colonell *Dirickſon* with the Foot-forces being conjoyned with them. Towards the end of the Moneth, comes Sir *John Habron* out of *Pruſſia*, with his Regiment; to be Governour in the ſayd Towne: and the Country-Gentlemen, (invited by the Kings kind Letters) are alſo drawne into the Action: all which made up ſome 8000. fighting men. By this new Army, are the next Townes and paſſages of this *Back-Pomeren*; in ſhort time cleered of the Imperialiſts.

The K. formes another Army.

This done, the Land of *Marck*, lying full South of them, and upon the Eaſt of the *Oder*, towards *Poland*, is reſolved to be ſet upon: the entrance into which Land (towards them being *Schiffelbien*, right againſt *Stetin*; was by the method of warre firſt to be begun withall. Another reaſon, (beſides this method) there was, for the taking of this Towne: it was the onely paſſage, by which the Imperiall Army then lying at *Gartz* upon the *Oder*, might come to infeſt them in their new Conqueſts. Lievtenant-Colonell *Monro* and his Diuiſion, are made choyce of to doe the feate: being men knowne to be fortunate; by their former taking of *Rugenwaldt*; and valiant too, by their bravery in other ſervices. He therefore with his *Scots*, comming to this *Schiffelbien*; preſently hath both Towne and Caſtle ſurrendred unto him by the Burgers: the Imperialiſts not having in all this while attempted upon the place. This was done about the 6. or 8. of *November*. Thus hath the ſame man and Nation the honour of it, to give the King of *Sweden* his firſt entrance into the *Back-Pomerland*, and into the Land of *Marck* beſides.

Schiffelbien taken by the *Scots*.

Monro

Monco being thus lodged in the Towne, ſome 3. dayes after, the Count of *Monte-Cuculi* in his expedition towards *Colbergen* (of which, more by and by) hath a deſigne of taking in this Towne by the way. He not knowing of another birds being in the neſt before him; ſends three troopes of Curiaſſiers, and as many of *Crabats* or light horſemen, accompanied with 1000. Muskettiers, to take poſſeſſion of the place. *Monco* having notice of their approaches, keepes his own men cloſe and quiet within the Towne: agreeing with the Burgers, to enter into treaty with the Imperialiſts, to to yeild (with ſome adoe) unto Contribution, and to admit 200. of them into their Towne; providing lodging for the reſidue in the Suburbs. The 200. being entred, and the Ports made faſt, *Monco* falls upon the execution; and having diſpatcht thoſe within, ſallyes preſently out upon the other. Agreed withall it was, that ſome of the Burgers ſhould bee layd in Armes at the further end of the ſtreets: who when *Monco* began the execution ſhould ſet fire on the out houſes, and fall upon the enemy: Thus were the moſt of theſe coopt up and cut off alſo: ſo that by this ſtratagem did 500. Scots, defeat 1600. Imperialiſts. Thoſe of them that eſcaped to their fellowes, now upon their march; ſped no better in the field, then theſe had done in the Towne; as we ſhall next ſhow you.

Colbergen blockt up by the Kings forſe.

While this is a doing; ſuppoſe *Colbergen* to be blockt up by the new Army; to that ſtory now turne we. This Town is ſcituate upon the Sea-coaſt of *Pomerland* ſome 8. leagues nearer unto *Stetin* then *Rugenwaldt* aforeſaid. So ſtrong a place; that *Torquato* and the reſt, had made choyce of it, there to lay up the Pillage, and what treaſure they had gotten in the warres. About the 4. of *September*, had Colonel *Knipbowſen* beene ſent by the King, to try what he could doe upon it. His troopes being too weake, *Banditzen* is ſent with 4000. men, and 18. pieces of Ordnance. Vpon him the *Crabats* and other *Imperialiſts* ſet amaine: a hot skirmiſh there is, and much loſſe on both ſides. *Banditzen* thereupon receives two more Regiments from the King: ſo that now he

he is 5. Regiments of foot, and certaine horſe ſtrong before the Towne. The Garriſon within is 11. Companies of foot, and ſome horſe, but very weake ones.

Torquato Conti not ignorant of this, hath a deſigne about the beginning of *November*, for the relieving of the Towne, and his owne treaſure in it; hoping eyther utterly to defeate *Banditzen* and *Knipbowſen*, that now blockt it up; or at leaſt to beate up a Quarter, and ſo to thruſt ſome ſuccours into it. Vpon this ſervice, is *Monte Cuculi* now ſent. *Guſtavus Horne* (then in the Campe at *Stetin*) having notice of it, immediatly calls a Councell of Warre. The reſolution is, firſt to ſend *Banditzen* and *Knipbowſen* word of it: wiſhing them to ſtand upon their guard a while, aſſuring them by ſuch a time to be with them. This done, they draw out halfe of every Regiment, to goe along; every Colonell to command his owne; all being commanded men, ſuch as had no Colours with them; and for the defence of the Campe leaving the other halfe, with all the Lieutenant-Colonels, and Sir *Alexander Leſly* to command all. Word alſo is ſent vnto the *Swediſh* Garriſons of *Griffenberg* and *Golnaw*, (juſt in the way) to come and meet them. So that with theſe, & their fellowes before *Colbergen*, they might make ſome 8000. foot, and almoſt 4000. horſe. The enemy was alſo ſome 9. or 10000. men; and thoſe upon their march, at leaſt a day or two before *Guſtavus Horne* had notice of it: but they going the further way about, through the *Marck*, and ſo along behinde *Schiffelbier*, (as farre from the *Swediſh* Garriſons as they could, for feare of being diſcovered,) the *Swediſh* were at *Colbergen* before them. There found they their owne men in battell array, and no newes of any *Imperialiſts* yet. Conſulting what to doe, they there reſolved to ſtay in ſight of the Town, to amaze and affray the enemy all that day; and then to take as many out of the Leaguer as might well be ſpared, and ſo to march away by night, to meet all; the valiant Baron *Duvell*, or *Teuffell* led the *Dutch*, & the Lord *Reay* commanded the reſolute *Scottiſh men* of his owne nation, & *Banditzen* the horſe. About midnight comes a Country Boore vnto them, with aſſurance that the enemy had then taken up their Quarter in two or three little Dorps that were hard before them: This intelligence was

The famous Onſlaught of *Colbergen*.

timely given, for elſe might the Imperialiſts have marchd by them; and ſo have gon on, and defeated thoſe before *Colbergen* firſt, and perchance thoſe at *Stetin* afterwards. Here the Colonels adviſe what to doe. All but *Knyphowſen*, reſolve to ſurpriſe them as they now lay ſcattered and divided in theſe Villages: but *Knyphowſens* advice was to ſtay till morning. His reaſons were, firſt they knew not the ſtrength and lodging of the enemy; ſo that if by any error they ſhould be defeated, *Colberg* and *Stetin*, and all were loſt. Againe, it was a very good piece of ſervice to have prevented the enemy in his deſigne; and if they could not beate him, it were enough to turne him backe againe. And theſe reaſons prevailed: ſo that the Army being hard marcht, ſate there downe to refreſh themſelves. Whileſt here they were, eyther the ſame Boore, or ſome other, goes and tells the *Imperialiſts*, that the *Swediſh* were hard by them: ſo that by three a clocke in the morning they might perceive the enemies Dorps all on a flame: for they riſing to be gon homewards, had now ſet fire vpon their Quarters. The *Swediſh* perceiuing this, fall generally to blame *Knyphowſen*; reſoluing inſtantly to purſue them. Comming to the forſaken Dorps, there knocke they downe ſome ſixtie men, that the enemy had left behinde, and ſo follow on the reſt. At breake of day, they had ſight of the retyring enemy, vpon a faire Heath: wherevpon the *Swediſh* horſe making more ſpeede, by eight a clocke were vpon the neckes of them. The enemy making *Alt*, turnes faces about to them: wherevpon the *Swediſh* horſe forbeare to charge, till their owne Foot ſhould be come up to them: who now doubling their march, were hard at hand with them. Thus when the enemy makes a ſtand; ſo doe the *Swediſh* too; and when the enemy marches, the other lyes beating upon their Reere. The *Crabats* (or *Imperiall* horſe) perceiuing themſelues likely to bee overmatcht with numbers, play the *Pultrons*, and run away. The Foote goe on in this faſhion, till they come to a Dorpe, or Village, called *Faldinbruch*, where was a paſſage at a water-mill: over whoſe bridge they were to goe: and there one of the carriages of their Ordnance breaking, foully ſtopt up their paſſage. Here being crowded and diſordered, the fore-

This was on a Sunday.

moſt

moſt beginne to flee. And now fell there ſo ſudden and ſo ſtrange a miſt, that a man could hardly diſcerne two Pikes length before him. The enemies Foote that could not get over the Bridge, betooke themſelves into the mariſh by the Rivers ſide, ſtanding there upon their owne defence, with Matches Cockt, and Muskets upon their Reſts. The *Swediſh* comming up to them, they demand Quarter: proffering to ſerve the King of *Sweden*, upon condition every Officer to be under the King, the ſame they were under the Emperour: otherwiſe, they would die like brave men, and ſell their lives as deare as they could, Quarter & Conditions are both granted them. So that there ſtill a while they ſtood. But to ſee the lucke of it; juſt in the meane time returnes *Bauditzen*: who having beene purſuing the enemies horſe that fled, and now ſo utterly rowted them, that ſcarce ten of them remayned in a Cõpany, (and thoſe loſt in the miſt too) he ſeeing the enemy ſtand whole in a body together, and not knowing of any agreement, falls to charge them with his horſe. They perceiving this, began to ſuſpect treachery in it; that the *Swediſh* horſe ſhould fall upon their *Reere*, and the foote upon their *Van*, & ſo they ſhould periſh betwixt both. To prevent which, they putting themſelves unto two diviſions, turne backe to backe: thoſe next to *Bauditzen*, all at once giving faire fire vpon him. That volley made a Fell of many a brave man. *Bauditzen* charges againe, charges home, and through them: utterly breakes, and defeates them. The other *Swediſh* body of horſe hearing the fight, and the miſt not ſuffering them to diſcerne the matter, imagined verily, that the enemy had bin come backe againe: yea, meſſenger comes upon meſſenger with the newes, *Our men are utterly defeated*. And when as ſome of the horſe that had the *Van* of the *Swedens* foote, came towards them, they certainely beleeved them to be enemies, and their owne men to be defeated, and thereupon give fire upon them. The other, thinke the Devill to be in it: and that their Foote had beene defeated, and theſe to be enemies: and therefore flie backe againe to their fellowes. Others alſo comming upon our *Van*, they fall to charge them: the other as faſt letting flie at them againe. Thus having no colours with us we knew not friends

from foes, our enemies from our fellowes. In this miſerable error, and myſticall medly, we continue, untill 4. a clocke at night, when by finding ſome of our own to be ſlaine (whom we wel knew) we began to find our miſtake. The Emperors whole forces, both foot & horſe, were defeated: their Canon all their baggage and 4. Cornets, taken from them. All our owne horſe, except *Banditzens* own Regiment, ran away: as alſo the body of our foot did, which were led by the young Grave of *Thurne*, & Colonell *Walenſtein*: only the *Van* of the *Swediſh* foot ſtood firme: Commanded by Baron *Teuffell*, the Lord Reay, & Sir *John Tinbrox*. So that both the Armies had run away in the miſt; except *Banditzen* & his Regiment of horſe, and the *Van* of foote aforeſaid. Theſe ſtayed after the fight, to bury their ſlaine fellowes. This pretty kind of battel hapned upon the 13. of *November*, 1630. In which, what with thoſe that were ſlaine by the enemy, & what they had killed themſelves, were 500. men loſt. The reſt partly laughing at their owne miſtake, partly ſorry for their fellowes & *Comrades*, and partly glad to have defeated the enemy, returne home-wards againe: *Banditzen* and *Knipbowſen* unto their ſiege, and the other unto their Leaguer.

The ſiege renewed.

Preſently after this, in the middle of the ſame *November*, were there 182. houſes burnt within the Citie: the fault was laid upon the negligence of a ſervant: though others ſuſpected it to be a villany of the beſieged: ſure it is that there were Letters intercepted by the *Swediſh*, which ſhould have perſwaded the Garriſon, that ſeeing they could not be relieved, the beſt way were to fire the Towne, and by a reſolute ſally to break thorow the enemy. This is like unto the *Imperialiſts* practiſes in other places, who at *Gartz* and *Gripphenhagen* about the ſame time, made ſtay of all the Boats that came up the *Oder*, having a deſign to fire *Stargard* with them, by that meanes to have delivered *Colbergen*. The ſame they threatned unto *Stetin* alſo, which made thoſe Townes ſtand upon their guard the ſurer. Towards the end of *November*, the *Swedes* cut off the freſh water that ſerved the City. In the beginning of *December*, the beſieged upon an advantage ſallying out, ſurprize a Lieutenant, with ſome 30. of their enemies, & the *Swediſh* within a while after, cut off a Convoy of 180.

Wagons

Wagons laden with Corne and other proviſions, which was going into the Citty: an hundred of which they bring away; the reſt which they had not time nor meanes to do, they ſet fire on. In *February*, when the King was gone towards *Mecklenburg*, the Garriſon making abroad, fetch in 500. head of Cattell one with another. Thus paſt their encounters too and againe betwixt them, till the end of *February*: the 26. whereof, they now finding their proviſions to faile within, & their hopes without; ſend to parly with the *Swediſh* Generall, who acquaints the King with it. His Majeſty condeſcends, to let them come out with Colours flying, matches light, full Armes, bag and baggage, aud two pieces of Ordnance. They were in all 1500. men; whereof 9. Companies of foot, and two of horſe: all which were by the *Swediſh* convayed to *Schiffelbien*: whence they were to march unto *Landtsbergen*. Thus that ſtrong Towne which had been three yeares in fortifying, (the Country-people for ten or twelve miles compaſſe, having been enforced to labour at it,) is now after five moneths ſiege, upon the ſecond of *March* (old ſtile) taken in by the King: who found in it, 51. pieces of Ordnance of a greater bore, and 19. ſmaller Field-pieces: 224. barrels of powder, with proportionable Ammunition. The day after the yeelding, a ſhippe comming with men and victuals for their reliefe, (not knowing of it,) falls into the hands of the *Swedens*.

Colbergen yeilded.

A report was alſo ſpread abroad in the Country, that before their giving up of the Towne, they had dig'd mines, and layd gun-powder and burning matches by it; which after two or three dayes ſhould take fire and blow up the Town: and that the *Sweaes* in good time diſcovering it, ſent after them in all haſt, to call them backe to an account for their baſe trechery. But this we cannot affirme Notwithſtanding it be a common practice in the warres. True it is, that they were ſent for backe, and ſtayd at *Friedburg* in the *New-Marke*: but this was by reaſon of *Tillyes* cruelty, at his taking of *New Brandenburg* about this time, where he put all to the ſword.

All the backe of *Pomeren* being thus cleered by the taking of *Colberg*, turne we backe now againe, to what was in the meane time done in other places. The King (who would ſee

to the doing of all) leaving his Army in *Mecklenburg*, was now come backe into *Pomeren*; and now caſts his eye upon *Grippenhagen*. This Towne ſcituate upon the North banke of the *Oder*, ſome three Leagues from *Stetin*; is naturally a very ſtrong place. A piece of much importance withall, by reaſon of the bridg which it hath over the *Oder*, by which there is eaſie paſſage either to offend or relieve the Land of *Marck* on the Eaſt ſide, and *Pomeren* and *Brandenburg* on the Weſt. In it lay an *Imperiall* Garriſon of ſome 3000. men: and *Don Capua* a *Spaniard*, their Governour. In *July* 1630. therefore the King taking ſome five Regiments of foote, and one of horſe along with him, and ſending his Ammunition up the *Oder*, goes to looke upon the place as thoſe of *Stetin* had requeſted him. Being one day deſirous to ſatisfie himſelfe in viewing of a paſſage, with 24. horſe onely in his attendance; he falls into an Ambuſh of 60. horſe: where valiantly defending himſelfe a while; he is very timely fetcht off by foure troopes of his owne horſe, which came in upon the ſpurre, ſo ſoone as they heard the Piſtols goe off. The place he finds not onely hot, but heavie: not ſo eaſie to be carried: and eſpecially for that then the *Imperiall* Army lay at *Gartz*, ſome few miles aboue it on the other ſide of the *Oder*. Therefore gives he it over for that time. After his comming back from *Mecklenburg* againe, his Majeſtie upon *December* 23. (old ſtile) with ſome 12. Regiments of foot, and 85. troopes of horſe, in perſon drawes downe towards the Towne; about the evening, ſhewing himſelfe in battell-aray before it.

The ſiege of Grippenhagen.

The King in danger.

Finding there a naturall Battery (or hill) a little wide of the place of execution; there cauſes he ſome 18. pieces of Demi-Canon to be planted: and having given order for prayers and ſermons throughout his Campe; he on *Chriſtmas-Eve*, by 8. or 9. a clocke in the morning, begins a moſt furious battery: 10. 15. or 18. pieces of Canon, continually going off together. The King now ſuppoſing the breach to bee faultable, calling *Wildeiſen* unto him, (a *Switzer* by nation, and Lieutenant-Colonell unto Baron *Dyvell*, who commanded his own Guards) commands him to put on his armour, and goe to view the breach. He finding it not faultable, the battery is renewed for two houres more; by this time 2. breaches being made in the wall,

wall on either ſide of a Tower, ſo that 2. men might at either place enter a-breſt (the Tower it ſelfe being ſore ſhaken) this brave *Wildeſen* is commanded to lead on the firſt muſkettiers: his Colonel the Baron *Dyvel* following with the firſt ſquadron of Pikes. The enemy perceiving this begins to flye out of the Towne over the *Oder*-bridge. To prevent their eſcape, is Sir *Alexander Leſlye* with ſome Ordnance which were yet in the Kings ſhips upon the River, commaunded to beat upon the bridge: but the moſt of the Garriſon were by this time gotten out, and ſtanding in battell-array on the other ſide of the River, where the Kings folks could not come at them. Sir *Alexander* at this time commands out a Party for the taking in of a *Palliſadoe*; which they having now done, and gotten betwixt it and the Town-wall towards the breach; there perceiving (but not knowing) their friends, (which were by this time gotten into the Towne;) let flye a-maine at them, as if they had beene enemies. The ſame errour poſſeſſes the other too; who lay as faſt at them againe: here were Sir *Thomas Conwey* and Lieutenant Colonell *Wildeiſen*, both hurt by their friends: and ſo had many more bin, had not a *Swede* by crying *O God*, in his owne language (as he had received a mortall ſhot) diſcovered the miſtake. This done, both joyne together againſt the Towne: where they found not much reſiſtance. All the Garriſon (excepting ſome few left behind to ſet fire on the Towne) were fled before. The Governor *Don Capua* a *Spaniard*, having received a ſhot in his thigh, eyther could not or would not flie; but was there taken priſoner: dying of his wound ſhortly after at *Stetin*. His Sergeant Major *Don Antonio*, was made priſoner alſo; with ſome other of the better ſort. Few were here ſlaine on eyther ſide and few priſoners taken. The fire was quenched by the *Swediſh*: the Town for 4. houres together pillaged by the Souldiers: which was then forbidden. Some eight pieces of Ordnance were here taken.

At *Gartz* (before deſcribed) another ſtrong Towne, with a bridge alſo over the *Oder*, had the *Imperiall* Army ever ſince their removing from *Anclam*, layne. To dare *Torquato Conti* their Generall into the Field; the King with ſome ten The ſiege of *Gartz*.

thouſand foote and twenty-foure troupes of horſe, preſent himſelfe before his Trenches about mid-*Auguſt* 1630. He not diſpoſed to come out, nor the King to aſſault him in his Quarters, returnes home againe. In his returne he lights upon *Walenſteynes* Sonne, (the Emperors great Generall) drawn in a Coach and ſix horſes; guarded with an indifferent Convoy. Whom the Kings horſe forthwith charging, take 120. priſoners, and ſome 35. horſes. The young Gentleman quitting his Coach, eſcapes away on horſe-backe. The plague much raging in Summer time about the Army at *Gartz*, *Torquato* ſends the diſeaſed into other Quarters, entertaining 2000. *Crabats* in their places. About mid-*September*, there fell out a moſt bloudy fight: wherein thoſe of *Gartz* were ſayd to looſe more then 1000. men; and yet I report but the third part. They about the ſame time beate a Convoy of the *Swedes* alſo; and bring away 100. horſes into their Campe. In the beginning of *December*, ſome are ſent thence into *Mecklenburg*: at other times ſome others are ſent to lye in Garriſon in the Townes of the Land of *Marck*, beyond *Grippenhagen*. Others had beene ſent to the reliefe of *Colbergen*: ſome ſlaine, and very many dead of the Plague. And thus had this Army beene impayred. *Grippenhagen* therefore being now taken, and ſetled: within a day or two after *Chriſtmas* day, the King directs his whole Army towards *Gartz*. Part of which goes on one ſide of the *Oder*, and part upon the other. A royall Fort there was before it, built in a moraſſe (for the guard of the *Oder*-bridge) called *Morewitz*, or *Don Capitaes* Sconce: who it ſeemes gave directions for the building. Before this goodly peece of fortification, ſo ſoone as 13. Horſemen (the Vant-curriers or forlorne hope) of the Kings appeared; the cowardly Defendants immediately quitting the place, retyred themſelves into another leſſer Sconce neerer to the Towne. The King finding the Fort forſaken, preſently cauſes ſome Pieces to be mounted; with which he not long after beate them out of the leſſer Sconce alſo. Night being come, and the King at Supper; word was brought him that *Gartz* was all on a light fire: whereupon he throwing away his knife, calls immediately, for his horſe to goe ſee the ſight; There heard he a mighty noyſe on the ſudden; as if ſome great

The *Imperialiſts* beaten.

The *Swedens* beaten.

Who was Gouernor of *Grippenhagen*.

great myne had been ſprung: the cauſe of which noyſe was, that the *Imperialiſts* now flying away, had ſet fire to their ſtore of powder, which was ſtowed up in ſome Turrets about the walles. For now the Count of *Scomberg* (who at this time commanded the Army in ſtead of *Torquato Conti*, that had lately given up his charge (notwithſtanding hee were ſome 15000. ſtrong, yet perceiving his great Army to be ill diſciplin'd, uſed rather to pillage, then to fight: his heart ſo failed him, that not daring to hazard the encounter, hee hauing called the Garriſon out of the Towne, had ſet fire to the Ammunition, burnt the carriages of the Ordnance, drowned the pieces in the River and Mariſh, and in great feare and confuſion marcht off in the night, with all ſpeed haſting to get through *Cuſtrine* into *Landtsbergen*; a very ſtrong place in the way to *Sileſia*: from whence after a while he went to be Governour in *Franckford* upou *Oder*, that he might looſe that alſo. The moſt of the Army went towards *Franckford*; whither *Tilly* ſhortly came to take them on, and to bring them to a better order of military Diſcipline. They thus flying, burnt the *Oder*-bridge behind them, to prevent the Kings purſuit of them.

In this particular paſſage (eſpecially) hath our *Intelligence* beene amended, by the directions of a braue Cõmander of our owne Nation; who being *Sergeant Maior* to the Kings owne Guards under Baron *Dyvek*; was an Actor in all theſe famous buſineſſes, even untill the breaking up of the Camp at *Werben*. From whoſe mouth we have now alſo bettered our inſtructions cõcerning the ſieges of *Grippenhagen*, *Gartz*, *Franckford*, *Landtsbergen*, and ſome other particulars.

But the *Swedes* on the ſame ſide the *Oder* with them, ſo purſued the old *Saxoniſh* Regiment with that of *Wallenſteyn*, *Sparre*, add *Gotze*, that they utterly diſperſed them; tooke at leaſt 300. Wagons from them, with ſome 14. Enſignes. *Cuſtrine* being then open for the Imperialiſts, and not for the Swedes; there did *Sparre* with ſome few Wagons of his owne baggage, ſeve himſelfe.

The King with his part of the Army could not follow them: and indeed very well content he was to be ſo rid of them; for had their courages, been as good as their ſtrength and numbers; they (ſurely) had beene much too hard for his over-tyred Army. But ſo great was their feare, and his fame; that could he have but purſued them, and had he had the paſſage or bridge of *Cuſtrine* at that time in his hands he might in all probability have given thẽ a notable defeat: might have taken *Franckford* and *Landtzbergen* at the very ſame time, & have ſaved *Magdenburg*. And thus much his Majeſties ſelfe ſpeakes of, in his owne *Apologie* about *Magdenburg*.

The King not adventuring that night to enter into the Town, takes up his lodging in the open fields: and the next day even while the feare & dread of his Armes, and the love of his juſtice were upon all the Country: goes in perſon towards *Coninxberg*, a Towne on the Eaſt ſide of the *Oder*, not farre from *Cuſtrine*. Here had he not much to do; for that the Towneſmen voluntarily brought their keyes, and layd them downe at his Maieſties feet. Thence in perſon goes hee towards *Lubus*, a Fort within a Dutch mile of *Franckford*, almoſt betwixt it and *Cuſtrine*: and there he pitches his Camp.

Coninxberg taken.

Sir *Alexander Leſlie* towards *Legnicz*, a Caſtle in the very Frontiers of *Pomeren*, belonging unto *Schulenburg*, and kept by an hundred *Imperialiſts*: upon which place Sir *Alexander Leſlie* comming by night, ſo thunders with his Ordnance upon them, that having beaten down the gates, he fals to enter: killing ſome twenty of thoſe that made reſiſtance, and taking ſome 80. priſoners. The Caſtle was by the King freely given unto the Colonell that thus took it in. At the ſelfe ſame time fals *Baudiſzen* upon the Garriſon of *Piritz*, a Town betwixt *Grippenhagen* & *Coninxberg*: in which were ſome 1400. men: theſe he defeates, and ſo is that Towne taken.

Legnicz taken.

Piritz taken.

But the chiefe deſigne, was at the ſtrongeſt place, *Landtsberg* by name; whither *Guſtavus Horne* was ſent; the King hoping at this ſame one voyage, to have taken in that alſo. But this deſſigne was for that time put by, as we ſhall hereafter ſhew, when we come to ſpeake of that ſiege. Yet doth not *Guſtavus Horne* looſe all his labour: for hearing in his returne, of five troopes of *Crabats*, which uſed with ſtrong parties to make *Cavalcadoes*, & plundering voyages out upo the Country, from out of *Himmelſtadt* (a Town ſome League or two to the Northward:) ſome of theſe he cuts ſhort; and others of their Nation in other places, about this *Landtsberg*.

A deſigne upon *Landtsberg* defeated.

Thus having in eight dayes ſpace (which is admirable) taken in ſo many Cities, defeated ſo many enemies; gotten ſo many great priſoners, & now cleered *Pomeren* and *Marckland*, even from *Pruſſia* ſide, all betwixt the Rivers of *Warta* and *Oder* (except *Landtsberg*:) he calls his Army together againe, ſitting downe with it at *Coninxberg* aforeſaid, (whither

ther he brought 70. pieces of Ordnance) where hee ſtayed until he had encreaſed it with ſome new levies, made for him in the *New Marck*, and had begun to rayſe ſome Sconces for the ſecuring of the Country. Of theſe Sconces, one was hard by *Cuſtrine*, and another neerer unto *Sileſia*: for the guarding of which workes, and the blocking up of *Himmelſtadt* and *Landtsberg* withall, he at his going away, leaves 6000. men in *Brandenburg-land*. Whileſt this is a doing, the King in perſon goes towards *Guſtrine* (the chiefe Town, and the ſtrongeſt of all *Brandenburg*;) againe demanding to have that Towne conſign'd over into his protection, that he might put a Garriſon into it & ſo keep the enemy from cõming over the *Oder*. This requeſt, notwithſtanding it were by the *Elector* denyed, (not daring to doe it as yet, the *Imperialiſts* being not onely in that Towne, but in his whole Country beſide, and the Governour *Krachten* diſſwading it mainly) yet thus much conrage the Elector after that tooke unto himſelfe; that he preſently ſet out a Proclamation againſt the ſharking and ſtroy-good *Imperialiſts*: commanding his Subjects, by ſtrong hand to reſtraine their inſolencies; and to let none ramble up and downe the Country, but ſuch as had lawfull Paſſes. Whileſt here the King ſtayes, the *French* Ambaſſador comes to *Berwalde*, a league to the South of *Coninxberg*, where the Kings head-Quarter then was. Where *Jan.* 13. was there a league concluded betwixt the Kings of *France*, and *Sweden*, in theſe termes.

The King encamps at *Coninxberg*.

A new League betwixt the Kings of *France* and *Sweden*.

1. That it be for the defence of either of their friends reſpectively; for the ſecuring of the *Ocean* and *Baltick* Seas & the freedome of Commerce in them; as alſo for the reſtoring of the oppreſſed States and Princes of the *Romane* Empire: and that the Forts newly erected upon the Ports or Coaſts of eyther Sea, or in * *Rhetia*; be demoliſhed; and all reduced to the Eſtate they were in before the *German* warre.

* The *Griſons* Country.

2. That becauſe the Adverſe party hath had no minde hitherto, to repaire offered injuries: and hath rejected all interceſſions; therefore is there no remedy, but to vindicate their ſafetie by ſtrong hand: for effecting whereof, the King of *Sweden* is at his owne charges to maintaine 30000. foote and 6000. horſe in *Germany*. And the King of *France* to pay his

his yearely ſhare in Rixe-Dollars: whereof the one halfe *May* 15. and the other *November* 15. either at *Paris*, or *Amſterdam*, as the King of *Sweden* ſhall thinke fit, who is to appoint his owne Receivers.

3. The levying of Soldiers or Mariners, the paſſages of ſhipping and ammunition, ſhall be in eyther of their Dominions free for either partie, and be denyed to the enemy. Offenders againſt military diſcipline, and ſuch as run away from their Colours, to be left to their owne Princes to be puniſhed.

4. If it pleaſes God to give the King of *Sweden* good ſucceſſe, hee ſhall not deale otherwiſe in point of Religion to thoſe places that he ſhall conquer, or have yeelded up to him; then the Lawes and Conſtitutions of the Empire appoint: and the *Roman* religion ſhall ſtill be left free, where it is now practiſed.

5. Into this League, may any other States or Princes, eyther within *Germany* or without, be admitted, that deſire it: but let due care be had, that whoſoever be ſo admitted, may neither privily nor openly, favour the adverſe party, vnder their owne name, or pretence of others; to offer wrong unto the fore-ſayd Kings, or the common cauſe; but let each of them rather contribute unto this warre ſo much as they are able, or concernes their intereſt: Which is to be determined upon by a particular Treatie.

6. With the Duke of *Bavaria* and the *Catholike Leaguers*, in the *Romane* Empire, let termes of amity, or neutralitie at leaſt, be obſerved; if ſo be, they doe the like againe.

7. And if by Gods grace any occaſion of Treatie offers it ſelfe: let it be by the common Counſells of the *Leaguers*; nor let any of theſe conclude a peace without the other.

8. This League to endure for five yeares to come: that is, from the day of the date hereof, unto the firſt of *March*, old ſtile in the yeare 1636. to come. Within which terme unleſſe a ſecure peace may be obtained; upon a generall Treaty of the Confederates, let this League be further againe prorogued.

It is moreover agreed; that becauſe the laſt yeare this League had beene begun to be treated upon, to continue for ſix yeares: and that the King of *Sweden* had in the meane time

time beene at the ſole charges of the warre: therefore in regard of the yeare paſſed, the King of *France* upon the day of Signing theſe Articles, is to give him Bills of Exchange for 300000. pounds *Turon*, which amount unto 120000. Rixe-Dollars; which ſumme is not to be reckoned in, unto the payments to be made in the next five yeares.

Of this League the King of *Sweden* gives preſent notice, unto the *Proteſtant* Princes now at the Dyet of *Leypſich*; aſſuring them that his intentions were no other but to defend and reſtore the *German* Princes, and their Liberties, &c.

Now had the King an Army of ſome 18. Regiments of Foot, and 86. Cornets of Horſe: and now by mid-*January* was Generall *Tilly* come up to *Franckford*, there to ſuccour and take on thoſe troupes, which the King had before ſcattered: which (as we ſayd) began to gather head againe about this *Franckford*. Of his comming the King preſently hearing; ſends *Guſtavus Horne* with a reaſonable Army towards the Frontires of *Sileſia*, to ſtave of *Tilly* from comming downe that way, unto any of the new conquered places: himſelfe inſtantly marching into the Land of *Mecklenburg*. The whole ſtory of which, and his Maieſties proceedings in that Country; we will now preſent you with altogether: beginning with his former expedition thither. Tillyes comming.

This Country of *Mecklenburg* lyes Weſtward of *Pomerland*, along the Coaſt betwixt *Brandenburg* and the Sea. Two Dukedomes it hath, *Schwerin* and *Guſtrow*; lately poſſeſſed by two brothers, *Iohn Albert* the elder brother, and *Adolph Fredericke* the yonger: both the right heires, and both ſtiled Dukes of *Mecklenburg*. Theſe Princes had the Emperour of late very injuriouſly deveſted of their Eſtates, and given them unto *Walenſteyn* his great Generall, with the Title of Duke of *Mecklenburg*. The diſſeized Dukes, complaine unto their Coſin the King of *Sweden*; their reliefe was another maine cauſe of his comming into *Germany*. His Maieſty therfore having made ſo victorious an entrance into *Pomeren*, and cleered all thoſe parts upon the confines of *Pomerland*, (except *Gripſwald*) next unto *Mecklenburg*: reſolves upon

an expedition thither in perſon. About *Auguſt* 6. 1630. he prepares his owne way by taking the paſſage of *Stolp*, neere *Anclam*, ſome five leagues beyond *Stetin* towards the Sea; whereby he hath a full paſſage into *Mecklenburg*. Towards the end of *September*, his Majeſty makes ſtay of all great boats and ſhips upon the *Oder*, and the mouth of it: wherein having ſhipt ſome 12000. men and their Ammunition, he ſailes by *Wolgaſt*, (taken ſome moneth before) and *Stralesſundt*; paſſing unto *Bart*, a Towne in *Mecklenburg*, ſtanding upon an Arme of the Sea, a little within the ſhore, That takes he in firſt. Then haſts he to *Damgarden* the next Towne on the Eaſt ſide of that arme of the Sea: which Towne & the Sconce to it, he preſently takes in by aſſault: many of the Souldiers being flung out at the windowes, and ſome others by miſchance burnt. Three dayes after this, to *Rubenitz* he comes; a Towne in the very bottome of that Inlett or arme of the Sea: and that he by force takes alſo. *Mezerod* the Governour is taken Priſoner, and his Lieutenant-Colonel *Iers*, ſlaine with a Musket-ſhot. Here pitches he his Camp; giving order for the fortifying of this, and *Damgarde* and *Trubbeſees*, another late taken paſſage towards *Pomeren*. Being here ſetled; he firſt of all by a Proclamation dated from *Rubenitz* Sept. 28. ſummons the Gentry and people of the Country, to remember their oath once taken to their naturall Princes: to forſake *Walenſteyns* title and ſervice: to come armed into his Camp, or other his troupes; to proſecute and kill all the *Walſteyners*: and to fight with him for the liberty of theyr Country. Thoſe which doe not, hee threatens to purſue as traytors and enemies: thoſe which did, to afford his royall protection unto. A ſecond *Mandate* hee then ſends to the Towne of *Roſtock*: of which more when we come to ſpeake of that Citie. Sir *John Bannier*, (his Majeſties Generall then in thoſe parts) being about that time alſo upon the frontiers of *Mecklenburg* towards *Pomeren*; directs his Letters unto theſe borderers, to this purpoſe. That ſeeing the *Imperialiſts* thereabouts did nothing but pillage and plunder them of their Cattell and goods; and that the King his Maiſters intention was onely to defend them: therefore they ſhould

The Kings firſt expedition into *Mecklenburg*.

He takes *Bart*, *Damgarden*, & *Rubenitz*.

He ſummons the Countrey.

Banniers letters to the *Mecklenburgers*.

ſend

ſend their Corne and Cattle towards *Rubenitz* or *Stralesundt*. Which if they refuſed, the King would thinke thoſe pillages wilfully endured by them to relieve his enemies, and that they meant to fall away from their owne Princes: and muſt therefore take their goods where ever he found them, proſecuting themſelves as traytors and enemies.

Whileſt here at *Rubenitz* the King lyes encamped, and his forces in the meane time buſie about the Country: there arrives an Imperiall Currier in his Campe. His Letters contained an admiration of the Emperors, why the King ſhould come armed into the Empire: offering him a treaty of peace, if ſo be he would firſt lay downe Armes. Theſe ſeeme written from *Ratisbone*. To this he anſweres; That his Imperiall Majeſty would ceaſe to wonder, if hee pleaſed to remember the two Armies ſent againſt him into *Pruſſia*, the wronging of his friends; and the endangering of his owne *Sweden*. As for the offer of Peace, hee deſires pardon if hee thinkes it not ſincerely meant; ſeeing it had beene before ſcorned: and that now the Emperor while he ſpake of peace, did ſtill continue his Levies. As for laying downe of Armes, he utterly refuſes that, or to truſt any more unto verball promiſes: and for treaty of peace, he would be moſt glad to entertaine it: which upon theſe termes he will agree unto; namely, That all *Germany* be ſo ſetled and re-eſtated, as it was before the beginning of theſe warres. This was written after the Kings returne to *Stralesundt*, the ſame month of *October*, in which it was received. The Emperour perceiving that words and papers would not beat *Swedens* ſword out of his hand, he at the breaking up of the Dyet of *Ratisbone*, in the beginning of *November*, ſets out his Imperiall *Mandate*, for the continuing of the wars; (and againſt the King of *Sweden*, by name:) procuring the Electors alſo to decree the ſame: and to agree to ayde him in it. And by this time was the K. come from *Stralesundt* againe, unto his Army at *Rubenitz*; where he for a while held the head-quarter of his Camp: the reſt of the Army, being partly neerer advanc't unto *Roſtock*, and part employed with Generall *Bannier* in other places. And now (it ſeems) ſome of his, having been as farre as *Lubeck* (one

The Emperors Letters unto him.

The Kings anſwere.

of the *Hanſe* Townes upon the Frontiers of *Mecklenburg* and *Holſatia*, and there impriſoned and uncourteouſly uſed: the King writes his Letters unto the Towne, to this purpoſe: That ſeeing ſuch diſcourteſie had beene offered, he could no but admoniſh them to forbeare: as they would looke for the like uſage, where he had to doe. And now had not the King an Army alone hereabouts, but a Navy to upon thoſe coaſts: to confront the *Imperiall* Navie gathered amongſt the *Hanſe* Townes thereabouts. For in the beginning of *December*, I finde a Sea-fight betwixt *Gabriell de Roy*, the Emperours Admirall with 15. ſhippes, and 9. *Swediſh* men of warre, neere unto *Wiſmar* (another *Hanſe* Towne betwixt *Roſtocke* and *Lubeck*:) in which the ſaid Imperiall-Admirall ſhippe was foure times ſhot through, forced to ſave himſelfe in *Wiſmar* and to leave three of his Ships unto the *Swediſh*.

These, I ſuppoſe, were ſome of thoſe forces, which the King had ſet towards *Magdenburg*: and which had landed at *Daſſow* within a League or two of *Lubeck* about *Sept.* 29.

A Sea fight.

The ſiege of *Roſtock*.

Turne we now unto *Roſtocke*. This *Hanſe* Towne, ſcituate in *Mecklenburg* upon the River *Warnow* Weſt of *Rebenitz*; and ſome few miles from the Sea; had till now beene freed from Imperiall Garriſons: but upon the Kings comming to *Barr*, was ſurpriſed by this deviſe following. A thouſand Imperiall Horſeſend ſome before them to demaund paſſage through the Towne; pretending to goe againſt the King of *Sweden*: being beleeved and admitted, they keepe poſſeſſion of the gates, let in their fellowes; breake the locks off the poſts: which faſtned the chaines drawne croſſe the ſtreets: and ſo finally poſſeſſe themſelves of the Market place. This done, they compell the Citizens to bring all their Armes into the *Statehouſe*, making them ſweare they had no more; then they billet themſelves upon the Citizens, and keepe ſuch a racket, that the Townesmen dare hardly open their doores, for feare of being pillaged. The King at his comming to *Rebenitz*, hearing of this Garriſon, writes thus unto the Townſmen. That ſeeing by his comming into the Country there had beene a doore opened for their freedome; they ſhould now remember the Oath ſometimes taken to their Duke; caſt out the Garriſon, and reſtore the Citie to her ancient freedome. Which if they did, he would take it for an argument of their innocency: become their friend, and inlarge their

1000 *Imperiall* horſe get into it.

The Kings letters to thoſe of *Roſtock*.

their Cities privileges If they neglected it, he muſt like enemies purſue them both by Sea and Land.

The Towne eyther not willing, or perchance not able to doe this; the king begins to make ſome approaches unto it, to block up the paſſages, to build Sconces and Redoubts: yea and cauſes his Fleet to hover up and downe their coaſts. This was in the beginning of *October*. Theſe proceedings the *Weiſtejners* in other Garriſons hearing of, ſend out a ſtrong convoy of 4000. men, to open the paſſages againe, and to thruſt ſome men and victuals into the Citie. Theſe the *Swediſh* grapling withall, ſhrewdly defeated; and kill the moſt of thē; utterly fruſtrating their deſigne. In the beginning of *November*, he approaches within two *Engliſh* miles, or leſſe, of the very Citie; ſtill raiſing Sconces and Retrenchments againſt them. About the beginning of *December*, ſome ſeaven Cornets of *Imperiall* horſe iſſue out of the Towne on the cleerer ſide, to goe a boot-hāling: theſe the *Sweaiſh* having by their eſpials notice of, purſue. In the skirmiſh, are 200. *Imperialiſts* ſlaine upon the place: 280. taken Priſoners; and ſome 400. horſe bought away: ſcarce twenty ſound men, recovering into the Towne againe: a pittifull boothaling for them. In this fight, a certain *Swediſh* Colonell of *Finland* (as tis ſaid) for tryall of his valour, did twice charge quite through the *Imperiall* troupes, in his returne the ſecond time, by maine ſtrength taking a Captain out of his ſaddle, and bringing him away under his arme. About the middle of *Ianuary* is *Hatzfeldt*, Governor of the Town, in his own lodging murthered by one *Wirmier*, a Lawyer. And in this ſtate wee leave the City ſtill blocked up by the King, though not with a great, yet with a well ordered Army: himſelfe being (as we before told you) in perſon long before gone back, to ſee other things in *Pomeren*.

He blocks up the Towne.

4000. *Imperialiſts* defeated.

&

7. Cornets of horſe.

Thus continues *Roſtock* blockt up both by Sea and Land, rather than beſieged; untill after the Re-inſtalment of their Lords the Dukes of *Meckleburg* againe, and the taking of *Gripſwald* in *Pomeren* in mid-*June* following. After which time, the *Swediſh* Generall *Torſtenſon* being at good leyſure, is

Roſtock ſtill blockt up.

commanded by the King to conjoyne 10000. foot and horſe, of thoſe forces which had taken *Gripſwald*, with 5000. of the two Dukes of *Mecklenburg*; more ſtrongly now to purſue the ſiege of *Roſtock*: and to begin to blocke up *Wiſmar* alſo. Again, the Queene of *Sweden* a little after this arriving with 8000. new men at *Wolgaſt*; 5000. more are ſent into *Mecklenburg*; as ſpeedily as might be, to rid out all the *Imperialiſts*. The *Imperiall* Garriſons in *Butzow* and *Guſtrow* hearing of the comming of theſe laſt 5000. conjoyne their forces in one body, reſolving to try their fortunes upon them, and to give them theyr welcome into the Country. But *Todt* and *Mecklenburg* provided better for them: commanding all the horſe they could ſpare, to convoy in their 5000. friends; and then together, to ſet upon their enemies. They did ſo; ſurpriſed, defeated, and ſlew the moſt of them: having the chaſe of them, even unto their owne frontiers: and had the *Swediſh* had but 1000. Muskettiers more with them, they had (as 'tis verily thought) at the ſame inſtant taken *Roſtock* alſo.

For *Roſtock* belonged unto Duke *Iohn*, and *Wiſmar*, unto Duke *Adolph*.

The *Swediſh* Army being thus re-inforced, and the enemies weakned; they become bold to divide their Armies upon it: Duke *Iohn* of *Mecklenburg* with 8000. men continuing the ſiege of *Roſtock*: and *Todt* with Duke *Adolph* of *Mecklenburg* going to beſiege *Wiſmar*, with the reſt of the Army; which might be as many more. And thus I finde them ſtill both lying *Auguſt* 25. About the end of which moneth, Duke *Iohn* ſo well plyed his buſines, that he tooke the ſtrong Fort or Blockhouſe of *Warnemund*; ſo called of the River *Warnow*, which is the Haven to the Towne of *Roſtock*. This Fort ſtanding on the Weſt ſide, is neare unto the necke of that River, which is next unto the Sea; is ſo narrow, that this Fort hath the commaund of all the Ships that come into it. This Fort taken, the Garriſon preſently tooke pay under the Duke. By mid-*September*, had the Duke made his approaches, even under the very walles and Canon of the Town of *Roſtock*: *Tilly* in vaine attempting the reliefe of the Citty, eyther with men or victuals. Now was the Garriſon in the Towne waſted away to 1500. men: and the Citizens weary

The Fort of *Warnemund* taken.

of

of a ſiege, and fearing to looſe all, if the Towne ſhould be taken by aſſault; begin not onely to wiſh well, but to ſpeake well, in favour of the King, and their Lord the Duke. Thus much the new Governour *Fermund* obſerving in them; begins to take notice of their carriages: and to put both the Duke and them, out of all hope of faire compounding upon treaty, or any yeelding; he hangs a red ſtreamer out upon a turret of the Towne: to ſhew, that he would hold it out, as long as he had any thing that was red in him. All the Mils, he cauſes to be burnt, the Shallops to be ſunke in the *Warnow*, to keepe out the *Swediſh* Ships: makes his *Crabats* ride up and downe the ſtreets, to prevent the practiſes of the Towne men.

Wiſmar is another of the *Hanſe* Townes; and in the ſame Dutchy of *Mecklenburg* alſo. Diſtant ſome ſeaven or eight leagues to the Weſt of *Roſtock*: and almoſt ſo ſcituate, but the Haven much larger. Here did Duke *Adolph* and the Generall *Todt* entrench themſelves by land; the *Swediſh* fleet waiting upon it by Sea, as it did upon *Roſtock* alſo. Of this ſiege I can adde but this unto the former Sea-fight, That about the beginning of *Auguſt*, the *Swediſh* Shallops boldly going into the Haven, brought away the Admirall with one ſhip more, bravely towing both away with them. *Wiſmar* beſieged.

Tilly about the 24. of *January* being now advanced as neere the King as *Franckford* on the *Oder*: his Majeſty fearing if he marcht up into *Mecklenburg*, he might there make foule worke; leaves *Guſtavus Horne* with his Army about *Coninxberg*; and writes his Letters unto thoſe of the *New-March*, on the Eaſt ſide of the *Oder* to this purpoſe: That ſeeing he had now cleered their whole Country from their oppreſſors the *Imperialiſts*; every man ſhould a *Gods* name returne to his owne houſe, trade, and husbandry: he profeſſing to be their friend, and promiſing to be their protector. That which he deſired of them was; ſuch proviſions for his Army left amongſt them, as they could well ſpare and the other wanted. Thoſe that did not, he would take for his, and theyr Coun- The Kings ſecond expeditiõ into *Mecklenburg*. His Letters to thoſe of the *New-Marke*.

Countries enemies. Vpon which gracious *Monitory*, divers return'd againe; without moleſtation falling unto their buſineſſe.

This done, the King calls off the moſt of his Army from the ſiege of *Landtsberg*, and his troupes from other places; appointing their *Rendezvous* to bee at *Dam* the 28. of *January*; *Stilo Novo*: and ſo *Feb.* 4. he againe paſſes *Stetin* towards *Mecklenburg*: where with an Army of 16000. horſe and foote, he unlockt for arrived. There he firſt of all takes in *New Brandenburg*, within eight leagues of *Stetin*: Colonel *Marezan* the Governour taking compoſition, marches out with 6. Companies of foot, and three of horſe, of *Monte-Cuculi* his Regiment; and an hundred and twenty of Colonel *Butlars* Regiment. There did the King leave Colonell *Kniphowſen* for his Governour. To this Towne *February* 6. he ſummons the people of the County of *Stargard*: with whom he treates concerning the maintaining of the forces left for their guard. The newes of this being brought to thoſe of *Treptow*, (another good Towne and a paſſage thereby;) away run the *Imperiall* Garriſon: of which his Majeſty having ſpeedy notice, he the ſame day ſends ſome troupes thither, and takes it. Thoſe of *Damm* (a very ſtrong Towne) fearing to be taken unfurniſhed, with all ſpeed ſend to *Gripſwald* neere *Stralesund*, for more Ordnance: but neyther this, nor their ſo ſtrong fortifications will ſerve their turne. For *Feb.* 14. the King ſets downe to the ſiege; after a hideous battery, is the Caſtle firſt of all taken: in it, were ſeven Companies of Colonell *Holcks* Regiment; who ſubmitting themſelves unto the King, were forthwith entertained into his ſervice. The ſeaven red colours that were taken from them, the King forthwith commanding to bee advanced upon his owne Batteries ſorely frighted the Towne at the ſight of them. The ſiege beeing now re-enforced, two royall Workes are firſt taken from them: after which is there a line runne, or a rowling Trench, in which the *Swedes* were forthwith lodged. Beeing there now ready to Mine; the Duke *de Savelli*, an *Italian*, Governour of the Towne, finding

Takes *New Brandenburg*.

This *Stargard* lyes on that ſide the *Oder*, towards *Mecklenburg*: another of that name, lying on the other ſide of *Stetin*.

Treptow the ſame day.

finding the place not to be tenable againſt ſuch preparations and reſolutions; parlies and yeilds. He being come out, and ſome of the chiefe Burgers and Magiſtrates after him, the King ſitting armed vpon his horſe, makes a ſpeech vnto the Towneſmen, aſſuring them of all fauour: and turning to the Duke, wils him to ſalute the Emperour from him; and to tell him, That he was no enemy vnto his perſon: and that his endeauour ſhould onely be, to reſtore the liberty of Religion, and of the Princes. Thus with ſixe Enſignes flying, bag and baggage, and two peices of Ordnance, the Duke marches out of the towne: leauing 36. peices of braſſe Ordnance behinde him; 60. barrels of powder, with Victuals and Ammunition proportionable. The King loſt about 200. men, himſelfe (as ſome ſay) receiuing a light ſhot. Letters were intercepted from the Generall *Tilly*, deſiring the Gouernor to hold out but foure dayes longer: at which time he ſhould vndoubtedly bee relieued. Some ſay, that *Sauelli* was afterwards queſtioned vpon his * life; for that being ouer-confident of his owne ſtrength, he had refuſed to take in ſome more forces that came to offer their ſeruice. This towne, much ſtronger then *Roſtock*, is now by new fortifications doubly ſtrengthened.

The Kings meſſage vnto the Emperour.

* But he did not ſuffer for it.

Whileſt the King himſelfe is here buſied; his Generall *Banier* goes to *Letcz* (hard by *Dammin*) and takes in that. And *Malchin* another good towne is by a ſtratagem ſurprized alſo. *Friedlandt* is likewiſe ſo ſerued; and all the other ſtrong peices, vpon the Frontiers of *Pomerland*: and ſo is *Weſtrow* by the Sea-ſide. Yea all the ſtrongeſt places, to conclude, in that Dutchy, except the foure greater Townes of *Wiſmar*, *Roſtock*, *Butzow*, and *Dammitz*: which laſt, is an exceeding ſtrong towne vpon the Riuer *Elue*. Thus betwixt *Iuly* the firſt, and *February* the laſt, (that is, in eight moneths ſpace) hath he (which is ſcarſe credible to report) taken full 80. Cities, Caſtles, and Sconces in *Pomerland*, and in *Mecklenburg*.

A wonderfull thing.

By the end of *February*, hath *Tilly* heard of the Kings proceedings in *Mecklenburg*: and from *Frankford* on the *Oder*, beginnes to ſet forward into that Dutchy againſt him. The King now after the taking of *Dammin*, ſets downe with his Army betwixt it and *Treptow*: himſelfe in perſon one of the laſt

Tilly marches into *Mecklenburg*.

dayes of *February*, going through *Pomerland*, vnto *Berwalt* neere *Coninxberg*: where the firſt of *March* he concludes the League with *France*, as is aforeſaid. Within a day or two, that is, *March* the third, was *Colbergen* taken, as hath beene ſaid. The next day, the King goes from *Stetin* towards *New Angermund*, on the ſame ſide of the *Oder* with *Mecklenburg*. By this time are ſome forces come to him out of *Scotland*: and there being no more need of any Garriſons in the Ile of *Ruger*, thoſe he cals out. Thus drawes he all that might well be ſpared out of all his other Garriſons of *Pomerland*; taking to him the 6000. which before were in *Brandenburg*; and thoſe that lately beſieged *Colbergen*. The States and Gentry of *Pomerland*, he now commands, at their owne charge, to leuie 10000. men for their owne defence: which forces ſhould take oath to himſelfe, the Duke, and States of *Pomeren*. At this time hath he ſome new Regiments newly come to him out of *Pruſſia* alſo. Thus makes he himſelfe as ſtrong againſt *Tilly* as poſſible may be; bringing his Army from *Coninxbergen*, ouer the *Oder*, and forming an Army of ſome 15000. men, betwixt this *New Angermund* and *Freienwald*, at a little Dorpe called *Sweds*: Hither he brings ſome 60. peices of Ordnance: hither alſo brings he his Ship-bridge from *Stetin*; which here he layes ouer the *Oder*; ouer which he hath a free paſſage, both towards *Franckford*, *Landtsbergen*, and *Mecklenburg*; and a Retreate too, if need were. This Leaguer he fortifies with all art and ſtrength poſſible: that if Generall *Tilly* ſhould adventure to fall on, he ſhould come vpon the pikes.

The Leaguer of *Sweds*.

At this preſent is Monſieur *Tilly* vpon his march thitherward, with an Army of ſome 22000. men, and 26. peices of Ordnance. From *Franckford*, comes he firſt to *Rapin*, paſſing in his march, not farre from the Kings Leaguer: leauing it not aboue a league or two, vpon his right hand. If ſome make doubt, why being ſo neere, he ſet not vpon the King; the queſtion is eaſily anſwered; for that the Kings Campe was ſo ſteong, that he durſt not: for neuer was Campe better fortified; either with better works or more Forts & Redoubts about it in the country. Had *Tilly* come on, he had neuer bin better pelted. Secondly, *Tillies* deſigne was, rather to haue drawne the King out into the field, to a pitcht battell

Tilly paſſes by the Kings Leaguer.

battell (for ſo was it giuen out) then with ſo much hazzard to aſſault him in his trenches. The more therefore to prouoke the King, he fals vpon ſome of his Garriſons, euen midway betwixt the Kings two Armies. *Tilly* (thus) hauing ſome few dayes expected the King at *Rapin*; riſes and marches forwards. And to tempt out the Kings forces by the way, is Colonell *Bernſteyn* (a forward Gentleman and a valiant, but vnfortunate, who was afterward met withall) ſent out with 500. horſe, to make a *Cavaleado* vpon *Templin*, (a town hard by) thinking there on the ſudden to haue ſurprized the *Swediſh* Garriſon. But their ſpies hauing giuen them timely notice of it; they in faire order expect theſe hot-ſpurr'd *Imperialiſts*: ſo that hard to it they fall; and many, on both ſides, fall in the Encounter. But the worſt plainly fell vnto the *Imperialiſts*, who carried not home ſo many as they brought out; and yet they returned full as faſt as euer they came.

Bernſteyn aſſaults the *Swediſh* in *Templin*, with loſſe.

Tilly perceiuing the King not to be tempted out, proceedeth forwards: ſetting himſelfe downe at the ſiege of *Feldsberg*; a Caſtle neere vnto *New Brandenburg*, now kept by the *Swediſh*: which by aſſault he took in, putting all to the ſwotd in it. Thence he goes to *New Brandenburg*, which he forthwith ſtreightly beſieges, and moſt fiercely aſſaults. There are his men ſoundly knockt many a time, by the *Swedens* ſallyes out of the Towne. *Tilly* thus enraged with the loſſe of his men, after a large breach in the walles made with his Ordnance; he, *March* ninth, reſolues vpon a generall aſſault; and by fine force breaking into the towne, he takes it; kils all that he finds in Armes: except the Gouernour, Colonell *Kniphuſen*, his wife and daughter; (which retired into the State-houſe) foure Captaines, ſome Lieutenants, and Ancients, with about ſixty common Souldiers: all which hee ſends priſoners into *Stargard*. Here were the *Scots* of the Lord *Reayes* Regiment, quite cut off. The Laird of *Benſtio*, Lieftenant-Colonell to the Lord *Reay*, brauely fighting with a pike in his hand in defence of the breach, was here ſlaine: and Captaine *Muncriff* alſo. The newes hereof being brought into *Friedland* ſome foure Leagues off, which was kept by one Regiment of foote, and 17. troopes of horſe; away packe the *Swedens*, late in the night towards *Anckam*. The King alſo hearing of *Tillyes*

Tilly takes *Feldsberg*.

and

New Brandenburg, in the Duchy of *Mecklenburg*.

hard dealing with his men, ſends backe to haue thoſe *Imperialiſts* ſent after and ſtay'd, which had newly yeelded vp *Colbergen*: and theſe he cauſes to be kept in durance at *Friedberg*.

Tilly turnes backe againe towards *Magdenburg*.

Tilly after this ſends his Army towards *Dammin*: but finding no good to bee done vpon the towne, and perceiuing withall that the King was not diſpoſed to fight with him; and that his Army and Garriſons kept him from going further that way; bethinkes himſelfe, and turnes backe againe towards *Rapin*: loſing his Ordnance in the fennes, as the report was. Hearing of the Kings moſt famous Ship-bridge in his returne; he ſends *Coloredo* with twenty troopes of horſe through *Botſaw* towards the *Oder*, to hinder the worke if it might be. They finding the bridge not onely finiſhed, but with a ſtrong Sconce fortified alſo; are faine to turne backe againe. In the tayle of them, follow 600. *Swediſh* horſe, purſuing them euen vnto *Botſaw*: where other of their fellowes ioyning with them, they paſſe beyond *Bernau* vnto *Muncheberg*: falling there on the ſudden vpon ſeuen hundred *Crabats*; of which many they kill, an hundred they take, their Colonell hardly eſcaping into *Franckford*, was faine to leaue all he had behind him. *Tilly* hauing thus left the Country; the King proiects a deſigne vpon *Franckford*: in his going whither his Vantcurryers ſurprize *Zednick*; kill three hundred *Crabats*; obtaine three Cornets, and foure hundred and ſixty horſes, with a great booty beſides.

Zednick taken.

The ſiege of *Franckford* vpon the *Oder*.

The King reſoluing now vpon the ſiege of *Frankford*, vpon our *Lady-day* in *March*, beginnes to paſſe his Armie ouer the *Oder*. Vpon the 27. he aduances forwards in good order, with ſome 18000. men in his whole Army; reckoning in thoſe of *Guſtauus Horne*, who were to goe for *Landtsbergen*. Count *Schomberg* (who commanded in chiefe within the Towne) now ſuſpecting the Kings purpoſe; takes in 7000. more into the Garriſon: whereof twelue troupes of horſe: and raiſes outworkes in the deſtroyed Vineyards. The firſt of *Aprill*, comes * *Teuffenbach* newly made Marſhall of the *Imperiall* Army. He burnes downe one of the Suburbs of *Lubus*, to diſappoint the enemy from lodging in it. The very ſame day, arriues the King at *Lubus* within a league of the Towne. The next day, he entrenches

Which *Tilly* gaue order for.

* Or *Diepenbach*.

in

in the Vineyards aforeſaid; in the approches, is the valiant Baron *Dyuell* wounded in the left arme: for which the King was much troubled: vttering ſuch like words: *Alaſſe, now Dynell is hurt, what ſhall I doe?* The euening, the Imperialiſts make a braue ſallie through the *Gubens* gate: but with the loſſe of a Lieftenant-Colonell and many men, are they enforced to retreate. The *Swediſh* following them, get into a Churchyard neere the ſaid Port; which Church the Imperialiſts preſently ſet on fire. The next day being *Palme Sunday*, *Aprill* the third, old ſtile: the King keepes the ſolemnitie of the day, with prayers and Sermons in his Camp. All this while had there not beene one ſhot made againſt the citie. Whereupon thoſe of the towne thinking the King had not as yet brought many peices with him, begin to reuile the *Swedes* that had the guard next their workes: *What you * Strumbling-eaters, haue you eaten vp all your Leather-gunnes for hunger?* Out of a Bulwarke at the ſame time vpon a pike, hung they a Gooſe; calling the *Sweedes*, Wild-geeſe, now after the cold weather come ouer the Sea. The great Officers within the Towne verily perſwaded themſelues, that the King had no ſuch purpoſe as to ſet vpon the Towne: his numbers were ſo ſmall, and their owne ſtrength ſo great, that they conceiued hee onely came to affright them, to pillage and ſpoile the countrey, and ſo to be gone againe. No workes could they perceiue, that hee went about to caſt vp: nor indeed had hee more then one meane battery, from whence he in the aſſault beat ſome out of an high turret, that much galled his people. The King regards neither what they ſay or thinke, till both Sermons and dinner too were done. About two or three a clocke, whileſt the chiefe officers within the towne are at the buriall of their fellow, (the Leiftenant-Colonel aforeſaid:) the King commands Sir *Iohn Banier* to giue order for the aſſault. And whereas he perceiued his Colonels and chiefe Officers ready (out of the brauery of their courage) to fight vnarm'd; thoſe he commands to put on their armour: *For* (ſaies he) *he loues not the King, that will not doe ſo: for if my Officers be killed, who ſhall command my ſouldiers?* The *Swediſh* ſouldiers wanting ladders for the ſcaling of the walles, runne to certaines Boores houſes hard by; whence they bring

* is S n v.

away the rackes in the ſtables, and thoſe other without, which the Boores vſed to lay their Cowes meate vpon. With theſe, and ſome ſtore of hatchets they had gotten; to a nightie ſtrong *Palliſadoe* of the enemies neere the walles they goe, which they fall to hewing downe. The enemies labouring to defend this *Stocket* or *Palliſadoe*, to it on both ſides they fall; the bullets darkning the very aire with a ſhowre of lead. The Imperialiſts being by maine force at length beaten off, retire through a ſally-port into the towne. Being entred within the outter port, there ſtay they & ſhoote amaine. The King calling the valiant Sir *Iohn Habron* and Colonell *Lumſdell vnto him*; *Now my braue Scots* (ſaies he) *remember your countrymen ſlaine at New Brandenburg. Lumſdell* therefore with his Regiment of *Engliſh* and *Scots*, and *Habron* with his *High Dutchers*, preſſe vpon that *Sallie-port*: and the enemies bullets flying as thicke as haile, *Lumſdell* with his drawne ſword in his hand cries, *Let's enter my hearts*, thruſting himſelfe in amongſt the thickeſt of them. His men follow as reſolutely, the Pikes firſt entring; all knocking downe the enemies moſt pittifully: for the inner port being ſhut behind them, they had no way to eſcape, but the little clicket-gat; through which as many as could, crept into the towne. And by this time the greater gate being broke open, *Lumſdell* entring with his men, makes a moſt pittifull ſlaughter: and when any Imperialiſt cryed *Quarter*; *New Brandenburg* cries the other, and knocks him downe. One *Scottiſh-man* proteſted, he had kill'd 18 men with his owne hand. Here did *Lumſdell* take 18 colours: yea ſuch teſtimony ſhew'd he of his valour, that the King after the battell, bade him aske what hee would, and he would giue it him. By this time are the other *Swediſh* gotten ouer the walles with their ladders; and others thronged in at the ſally-port, and *Gubens* gate aforeſaid: and now is the towne wonne; and now they on all hands fall vpon the execution. *Schomberg* oppoſes himſelfe with valour enough; but freſh troupes and reſolute, quickly make him to retire: the *Swedes* running into the danger, like flies into the candle, as if they had beene blind, and not ſeene it; when as there was nothing elſe to be ſeene. The Imperialiſts now flying, the *Swediſh* finde many wagons and mules already laden vpon the market

The Engliſh and Scots firſt enter the towne.

The valour of a Scottiſh Colonell.

Frankford taken.

market place, about the Ports, and vpon the *Oder* bridge: for the chiefe Officers of the army, that had heretofore gotten great ſpoyles (for in this towne were moſt of the old Seruitors on the Emperours ſide) being now afraid to loſe what they had ſo hardly before begotten; were carefull in the beginning of the medly, to ſend their richeſt things in Wagons towards *Sileſia*, ouer the *Oder* bridge; which while they were buſie in packing vp at home, the towne was wonne. While the bridge and ports were cluſtered with carriages; the fleeing people ſo throng'd and wedged in one another, that many were ſtifled, and many thruſt into the *Oder*: The *Swedes* alſo now in the necks of them, could not beſtow either blow or ſhot, which did not ſome miſchiefe. *Schomberg*, *Teuffenbach*, and *Monte Cuculi*, with diuers horſemen, eſcaped into *Great Glogow* in *Sileſia*. Lieutenant Generall *Herberſtein* was ſlaine: ſo were *Heidu*, *Walſtein*, and *Iour*; all Colonels; with fiftie other Captaines and Officers: and 1703. Souldiers at the leaſt, dead vpon the place: beſides thoſe that were drown'd; and others found in Cellars, Chambers, and elſe-where, as many more perchance. Colonell *Sparre* a *Sweden* borne, being here taken; was with ſeuen other Lieutenant-Colonels, and ſome ſeuen hundred common Souldiers, ſent priſoners into *Stetin*. Enſignes were there 23. (ſome ſay 41. and ſure there could be little leſſe) with 8. Comets, preſented vnto the King. There were 100. *Swedes* ſlaine, and almoſt 100. more hurt: whereof ſome mortally. That night was pillage forbidden: but ſo fierce were the ſouldiers vpon the moſt rich bootie: that they could not be gotten off, till the next day about noone: at which time, the King and *Bandizen* had much adoe with intreaties, threates and blowes, to ſtaue them off. To increaſe the miſerie of the Citizens, there fell a fire that night, which burnt downe 17. houſes. This was the *Imperialiſts Gooſe* ſawced, and thus roaſted. Here found he very much riches, 100000. pound of powder, 18. great peices of Ordnance, beſides many leſſer ones, and a very great quantitie of Armes and Ammunition. Here was no woman raviſht in all this towne, nor any one Burger kild: but onely one who with an halfe pike ſtrooke a ſouldier that entred his houſe: and he indeed was ſo beaten, that he dyed ſhortly after.

Solemne

Solemne thankes being giuen to GOD for this Victory; (which the Conquerors themſelues much admired at) the King immediatly diſpatches 4000. horſe towards *Landtsbergen*, whither *Guſtavus Horne* (as you heard) was before gone: himſelfe the fifth of *Aprill* with more forces following after. This ſtrong Towne of *Landtsbergen* in the *New Marck*, ſcituate vpon the Eaſt ſide of the *Oder*, neere vnto *Poland* and *Sileſia* too: lyes vpon the Riuer *Warta*; which running out of *Poland*, falles into the *Oder* about *Cuſtrine*. This Towne lying ſo neere the *Pole*, with whom he had his late warres; makes it of the more conſequence vnto the King. Faine therefore would he haue ſurprized it, at his firſt comming into *Pomerland*. Immediatly after which, *Auguſt* 15. he ſends 2000 horſe to try their fortunes vpon it. But they could doe no good. In the beginning of *December*, were ſome ſtrong parties of horſe looking that way: ſo that ſome *Swediſh* ouer-confident of their valour and fortune, would needs ſet vpon certaine troopes of *Imperialiſts*, which they heard were then abroad, betwixt that Towne and *Schiffelbien*, Of which the other (2000. in number) hauing alſo notice, prouide in very good order and reſolution to entertaine them. The *Swedes* are well beaten; 300 of them loſt, and three Cornets: the reſt glad to runne away. In the beginning of *Ianuary*, after the taking of *Gartz*, the King thought at the ſame time to haue ſurprized this Towne alſo. Thither is *Guſtavus Horne* then ſent: and from thence by the valour of Count *Gratz* Gouernour in the Towne, is he for that time put. *Horne* returning hereupon, hath notice by the Countrey Boores, of ſome fiue troopes of *Crabats*, which out of *Himmelſtadt*, (a Towne ſome league or two to the Northward:) vſed much to infeſt thoſe places. To hinder them, and to blocke vp the Towne of *Landtsbergen* withall, hee leaues ſome 6000. men thereabouts. The King alſo himſelfe more ſtrongly blocks it vp, when he ſate downe with his Armie at *Conninxbergen*: and perchance had not *Tilly* then beene about to come; hee might then haue had a purpoſe to haue beſieged it: but a ſudden and a great froſt hapning withall, in the end of *Ianuary*: the King riſes, and paſſes into *Mecklenburg*, Yet ſtill was the Towne blockt vp; and (to paſſe by

The paſſages and ſiege of *Landtsbergen*.

The *Swedes* beaten.

Landtsbergen blockt vp.

by other encounters) in the beginning of *March*, the *Imperialiſts* ſallying out, are beaten in againe all but two hundred; which were left behind, as priſoners. In mid-*March*, the King paſſes ouer the Riuer *Warta* neere vnto it. Towards the end of *March*, he laying a bridge ouer the *Oder* at *Sweds* (where hee held his ſtrong Leaguer) he had from thence a faire paſſage both to that Towne, and vnto *Franckford*: vnto which ſiege when as himſelfe in perſon went; then was *Guſtauus Horne* againe ſent towards this *Landtsbergen*, with twenty Cornets of horſe, and foote proportionable: No ſooner was *Franckford* taken, but the King the very next day, diſpatches 4000. horſe thitherward: himſelfe the fifth of *Aprill* likewiſe following. And now goe they to it in good earneſt: the King with Sir *Iohn Habron*, on one ſide of the Riuer *Warta*, and *Horne* on the other. On the Kings ſide was the Towne naturally guarded, by a certaine moraſſe or mariſh: ouer which, the King by the guidance of a Boore ſo ſuddenly paſſes, that hee was betweene the Sconces and the Towne, before the amazed Garriſon lookt for it. Vpon the fifteenth of *Aprill* (the King hauing fully finiſht his works) by three a clocke in the morning, falles ſtrongly vpon their outworks, and takes them: and three hundred Souldiers in them which were willing to ſerue vnder the Kings Colours. Young Colonell *Cratz* the Gouernours ſonne is ſlaine; the reſt ſeeing all hope of reliefe to be cut off, by the taking of *Franckford*: demand Conditions and haue them. The next day therefore (being Saterday) by eight a clocke in the morning, out they march with bag and baggage, and 4. Field peices; and as much powder; as would diſcharge them foure times ouer. The Garriſon was ſome 5000. in all; amongſt which were 12. troopes of horſe; whom the *Swedes* conuoyed vnto *Great Glogow* in *Sileſia*. This was a goodly towne and a ſtrong; moſt baſely giuen vp by a company of Cullions, as the *Swediſh* call'd them: who much wondred to haue won the town from ſo ſtrong a garriſon, with ſo few Forces. The *Imperialiſts* being by their fellowes blamed for deliuering vp ſo ſtrong a Peice vpon ſuch eaſie termes: excuſe themſelues by their wants of prouiſions. But the *Swedes* avow, they neuer ſaw men better prouided. They came out with Taken.

foure fat horſes in a waggon generally; flitches of Bacon, &c. appearing by the Waggons ſides. Their owne horſes being fat and ſleeke. And ſo were their whores too; of which they brought out full 2000. with them, beſides a rabble of vnneceſſary hangbyes; enough to haue vndone a Garriſon; thus are all thoſe parts of *Pomeren* and *Marckland* quite cleered; and all paſſages open into *Sileſia*.

At the ſame time therefore that hee ſent one Army againſt *Landtsbergen*; he diſpatches the *Rhynegraue* and *Banditzen* with other forces into *Sileſia*; which is hard by *Frankford*. They fall vpon *Croſſen*; the next great Towne vpon the *Oder*: which they preſently take vpon agreement: after which they fetch in Contribution out of the Country as farre as *Sagan* and *Great Glogow* alſo. This put the *Imperialiſts* in ſuch feare, that with all ſpeed (namely, about the end of *Aprill*) the Emperor ſends his Ambaſſadors to the States of *Sileſia*: vnto whom (now met at *Breſlaw*, the chiefe City of *Sileſia*) are theſe grating Propoſitions offered.

Croſſen in *Sileſia* taken.

The Emperour demands a terrible Exciſe of *Sileſia*.

1. That for euery Oxe paſtured betwixt the Riuers *Oder* and *Bober*, the Countrey people ſhould pay the Emperour three *Creitzers* a weeke, and for thoſe beyond, two *Creitzers*. And for euery 25. ſheepe as much.

Two *Pfennings* make 1 *Creitzer*. 4 *Creitzers*, 1. *Batzen*. 5. *Batzen* are about an *Engliſh* ſhilling. 21. *Groſh* make a Ryxe Dollar.

2. For euery buſhell of Corne growne in *Sileſia*, a Toll to be payd to the Emperour.

3. Out of euery hundred Rixe-Dollars lent vpon Vſury, the Emperour to haue one *Florene*.

4. Out of euery pound of fleſh, two *Pfennings*.

5. Out of euery Tunne of Beere, twelue *Groſh* to be paid. And this Exciſe to continue for two yeeres.

The Emperour is now enforced to lay Contributions vpon his own natiue Subjects and Tenants of *Gratz* and thereabouts: whom (as the Princes of *Leipſich* ſaid) he had hitherto ſpared. And now he victuals and new fortifies *Vienna* alſo. Thus begins the Eagle to looke to her owne neſt.

By this, is the Dyet of *Leipſich* broken vp: which hapned to be vpon the ſame *Palme-Sunday*, that the King tooke *Franckford*. And now are Don *Balthaſar* and the Baron *Dhona*, ſent with more forces into *Sileſia*; which *Diepenbach* Generall for thoſe

thoſe parts, complaines vnto the Emperour that he much wanted. Suppoſe now the moſt of *Aprill* ſpent; *Frankford*, *Croſſen*, and *Landsbergen*, Garriſon'd and fortified by the King: and his Armies from ſeueral parts, againe come together and refreſhed. Vpon *May-day* therefore 1631. (himſelfe the next day being to come into *Franck'ord*) he ſends ſome ten Regiments of foot from *Furſtenwald*, (which is about a league from *Frankford*) towards *Kopenick*, backe againe into the Land of *Brandenburg*: after whom, are 80. troopes of horſe preſently diſpatched. Vpon which *May-day*, is Count *Ortenburg* ſent in Ambaſſage from the King, vnto the Marqueſſe *Elector* of *Brandenburg*. The Propoſitions were, to deſire *Spandau* and *Cuſtrine* to be conſigned ouer into his hands during the time of theſe wars; becauſe they lay ſo conuenient for him: both for the paſſage of his forces out of *Mecklenburg* and *Pomerland* vnto him; and for his owne retreat backe againe vnto them, if he ſhould bee put to it. A moneths pay was further required for the Armie; or elſe will the King leaue all. *Ortenburg* returning without a ſatisfying anſwer, *Guſtavus Horne* is ſent: and he failing, the King himſelfe goes to the *Elector*; taking fiue troopes of horſe, 1000. Muskettiers, and foure field peices, along with him. *May* 3. the *Elector* meets him in a little groaue vpon the *Copenicker*-heath, ſome *Engliſh* mile from *Berlin*. Here the King receiuing no contentment, offers to returne to his Leaguer againe; but the *Electreſſe* and the Court Ladies preuaile ſo farre with their feminine irreſiſtibility, that his Maieſtie takes his lodging in *Berlin* for that night, with a thouſand Muskettiers for his guard. *May* 5. the treaty begins againe: and by this time was the Kings whole Army come vp to *Berlin*. The ſight of an Army, is a very fierce argument, 'tis a very preuailing *Logicke*. The *Elector* is with much adoe brought to yeeld *Spandau* vnto the King for one moneth: whereupon the next day, the Gouernour *Buckerſdorp* with a Garriſon of ſixe hundred men, goes out of the Towne; and the Kings forces come in. *Cuſtrine* (the ſtrongeſt Fort of all the Countrey, ouer whoſe bridge the *Imperialiſts* fleeing from *Garts*, had eſcaped into *Franckford:*) hee could not obtaine from the Elector: *Crachten* the,

Gouernour mainely reſiſting the Kings deſires in it. That which made the King, now all on the ſudden, to deſire theſe * paſſages and Retreats of the *Elector*, was; that now deſpayring both of the holding out of the Towne of *Magdenburg*, and of his owne relieuing of it: hee feared Generall *Tillyes* comming backe vpon him ouer the *Deſſau* bridge, after the taking of the towne, which was now at the laſt caſt. Cauſe withall had hee to ſuſpect, that if *Tilly* ſhould indeed come backe, the feare of his fame and Armies, would ſo preuaile with his brother of *Brandenburg*, that he might (perchance) be enforced to the cooping of him vp at theſe townes; whereby hee ſhould bee hindered of his retreate backe into *Pomerland*. Hearing by this time that the Towne of *Magdenburg* was actually taken, *May* the tenth: his Maieſty with all ſpeed encamps at *Potſdam*, a Towne in the *Old Marck* of *Brandenburg*, betwixt *Berlin* and the Towne of *Old Brandenburg*; whither a little before he had cauſed his Army to retire. At this Leaguer the maine of his Army ſtayes, from about the eighth or tenth of *May*, vntill *Iune* following. Here hauing formed a Campe, hee firſt of all ſends a Trumpet to ſummon the *Imperialiſts* in *Old Brandenburg* and *Rattenaw*, two good townes vpon the Riuer *Havel*: laying his paſſage this way towards the Riuer of *Elve*; ſo to blocke out *Tilly*, from breaking in that way vpon him. *Brandenburg* thus ſummoned, is forthwith forſaken by the *Imperialiſts*.

As for thoſe of *Rattenaw*; notwithſtanding they made ſhew of reſiſtance at the firſt, (deſiring time to conſider vpon it:) yet when the King preſented his Canon before their wals, laid hold of all the ſhips and boates vpon the Riuer *Havel*, from thence euen vnto the town of *Havelberg*, and demanded their preſent reſolution: they knowing the General *Tilly* to be ſo engaged at the ſiege of *Magdenburg*, that he could not relieue them, ſo ſoone as the King would force them, are contented to accept of conditions, and to be packing. In this time the *Imperialiſts* attempted the recouery of *Croſſen* in *Sileſia*: but the Garriſon being aſſiſted by their fellowes out of *Franckford* and *Landsbergen*, kill ſome 150. or 200. of them vpon the place, driuing the reſt into *Great Glogow*. And the *Imperialiſts* a little after that, lighting vpon.

* At *Cuſtrine* was there a bridge ouer the *Oder*; and at *Spandau* another ouer the *Spree*, which is a great riuer and a long: for many leagues running the ſame courſe with the *Oder*: *Spandau* is neere *Berlin*, the Court of the Elector.

The King encamps at *Potſdam*.

Old Brandenburg and *Rattenaw* taken.

Some actions in *Sileſia*.

vpon a party of 100. *Swediſh* horſe, take 25. of them, and driue the reſt to take the *Oder*,

To retume to the King, *Rattenaw* thus taken: and the Comtrey of *Brandenburg* now quite cleered of the *Imperialiſts*: the Kings ſhips 100. peices of Ordnance, and all neceſſaries for the building of a Sconce, in thoſe new gotten boates aforeſaid; to be ready for a new deſigne. The maine of his foote forces, he ſtill keepes in the Campe at *Potſdam*, and about *Brandenburg*, *Nawen*, *Spandaw*, &c. and his horſe in their Quarters betwixt that, and the *Deſſau* bridge. Vpon the firſt of *Iune*, he commands 4. Regiments towards *Gutterbogen*, a Towne towards the two paſſages ouer the *Elue*, at *Deſſau* bridge, namely, and at *Wittenberg*. About which deſigne we muſt for a while leaue them, to ſpeake of three other actions of the Kings, done on this ſide the Countrey: for the doing of which, now after *Tillyes* going towards *Saxony*, he had the better leiſure.

The Dukes of *Mecklenburg* again Inſtailed.

The firſt of which was, his R'impatriating and Inſtalling of the two Dukes of *Mecklenburg*, into their ancient and paternall inheritance; which the Emperour had before depriued them of, and giuen vnto his Generall *Wallenſteyn*. This Country being by the Kings armies now almoſt cleered (excepting *Roſtock*, *Wiſmar*, *Dammitz*, and another Towne or two;) he on the 5th of *Iune*, cauſes the people to bee new ſworne againe vnto their naturall Lords; and *Wallenſteyn* to be abiured. Which triumph himſelfe honoured, with his royall and victorious preſence.

The Lord *Otho Todt*, or *Otty todt*.

The ſecond Action was done in that part of *Pomerland* next vnto *Mecklenburg*; namely the taking in of the ſtrong towne of *Gripſwald*; done by his Lieutenant, the Generall *Todt*. This ſtrong towne of *Gripſwald* (which is alſo honoured with an *Vniuerſity*) is ſcituated in the little Dukedome of *Wolgaſt*, in the mouth of the *Oder*, not farre from *Straleſundt*, whereabouts the King firſt landed. Why it was not taken in till now, I know not. I finde it to haue beene beſieged, (or blockt vp rather) with 5. Regiments of foote, and one of horſe, about the twentieth of *July* 1630. I finde ſome about it *Auguſt* 8. alſo. Mention is made of it in mid-*Ianuary* likewiſe: about which time, the *Imperialiſts* fearing that *Dāmin* would be beſieged; fetch ſome peices of Canon out of *Gripſwald* into that town. This *Dammin* being taken;

Gripſwald beſieged.

Gripſwald

Gripſwald is left naked; and uow in *March*, in good earneſt ſet vpon: 10000. men being laid at a diſtance to blocke it vp. Of any aſſaults or attempts vpon the towne, I reade not: nor of any ſallyes made by the beſieged; but that fatall one, made by *Peruſie*, then Gouernour there: in which skirmiſh, himſelfe was ſlaine. The occaſion of it was thus: *Iune* the tenth very early in the morning a partie of *Swediſh* horſe aduenture to driue away ſome Cattell, feeding cloſe by one of the Ports: which one of the Sentinels deſcrying, diſcharges his musket, the town take the Alarme vpon it. The *Swediſh* ſuſpecting ſome ſuch matter, dreſſe a fine Ambuſcado for them. Out ſallyes foure companies; and amongſt them *Peruſie*, with his Sergeant-major, a Ritmaſter, and a knight of the *Dutch* order. Theſe ſallyers being in a deſperate caſe within, become the more adventurous without. Well! the Gouernours courage carrying him too farre in the purſuit of thoſe, that did but feigne to flye; the ambuſh ſtarts vp, and cuts betweene the towne and him. The *Crabats* perceiuing the danger, auoide it by forſaking of their Maſter. The *Dutch* knight is ſlaine firſt; and the Gouernour not long after. By this time are there more forces of the King come in; which had marcht hard all night for that purpoſe; the plot being laid, that the game ſhould thus be begun, before they were diſcouered. Now doe the *Swedens* make their approaches to the wals: and after an houres ſpace, the Towne is moſt ſtraightly beſieged. Firſt, the beſiegers ſhew the Towne that they haue Canon, and then ſend to ſummon them by a Trumpet: Their anſwer was, that they would fight it out. Now are the Ordnance ſet to worke (which ſome call playing:) and a faultable breach is made. The Garriſon is as good as their words, for by a ſally-port next that breach which the *Swedens* thought to enter, the other ſally: yea ſo hard they lay vpon the *Swediſh* foot, that had not the horſe ſtrucke in, they had made foule worke: but being by this meanes beaten into the towne, they preſently found a parly. The aſſault is giuen oner; Conditions of yeelding, agreed vpon; which came to thus much: That vpon *Iune* 16. they ſhould depart with flying Enſignes, bag and baggage, and be conuoyed towards *Letez* firſt, and to march into *Roſtock* afterwards. The

Taken.

Swediſh

Swediſh convoy being ſomething too weak for them, they would not keepe conditions and goe to *Roſtock*; but into *Havelberg* would they goe, that they would. This had croſt the Kings deſigne, which he was now about for this *Havelberg*. The *Swediſh* Generall *Banier* hauing notice of the way they tooke; ſends Colonell *Holl* to meete with them: who falling fowle vpon them; kils a many, and takes the reſt priſoners. Thus paid they for breach of Conditions. The King not knowing of the taking of the towne, was now comming from *Stetin* with a great power to doe it: but is by the newes of it turn'd backe againe.

Brandenburg demands Spandaw againe.

The third Action on this ſide, was a paſſage betwixt the King, and the *Elector* of *Brandenburg*; thus: The King hauing in the beginning of *May* before, obtained the towne of *Spandaw*, but for one moneth, and that moneth now out; the *Elector* demands his towne againe. The propoſition very much diſpleaſed the King, becauſe it very much croſt him: yet for his promiſe ſake, he deliuers it, *Iune* 8. The next day he ſends word into *Berlin* (the towne where the *Elector* held his Court) of a *Viſite* hee meant to giue it: and a Proteſtation withall, that if any thing fell out foule vpon it, the blood ſhould not be laid to his charge. The ſame day, he ſtreightly beleaguers *Berlin*; bending his Canon directly vpon the *Electors* Palace. Out ſends the *Elector* to treate; three dayes are ſpent about it; and all to no purpoſe.

Spandaw redeliuered vnto the King.

Thus at laſt when the men could not agree, the women (as before) draw downe the King to milder reſolutions. Two Regiments are receiued into the towne for that night: and the concluſion is, that vpon *Iune* 12. the Kings Garriſon is againe admitted into *Spandaw*: and *Brandenburg* is to giue 30000. Rixe Dollars a moneth, towards the payment of the Kings foote; the Dutchies of *Pomerland* and *Mecklenburg*, being at the charges of maintaining moſt of the horſe. Some may imagine, that this was but a colourable deniall in *Brandenburg*; and rather art then force, in the King. Their reaſon is; becauſe the King of *Sweden* is brother in Law to the Elector of *Brandenburg*; as hauing married his ſiſter; and therefore not likely to doe him violence: he beſides, being one of thoſe oppreſſed Princes, whom the King came to relieue. So that this they iudge to haue bin ſuch a practice, as that

(as they ſay) before of the Duke of *Pomerlands* was: and that *Brandenburg* ſeem'd to be vnwilling, with what he was glad of; that he might haue this anſwer, to giue the Emperour, That he was forced to it. I cannot tell: but this I beleeue, that would *Brandenburg* haue done the King a ſeruice, he might haue before done it, by granting *Cuſtrine* vnto him: and that might haue bin the ſauing of *Magdenburg*. This I rather beleeue, that *Magdenburg* being thus taken and deſtroyed, the Elector was terribly affrighted, and therefore durſt not but deſire *Spandaw* againe: but hearing now that *Tilly* was gone a fortnights march from him; engaged otherwhere; and the *Deſſan* bridge broken downe, that he could not returne; he conſented vnto the King. Well! the agreement being made, the *Elector* ſtayes with the King in his Tent for that night: where there was much mirth, and ſome Healths: The next morning being the 12. of *Iune*, the King goes thence by water vnto *Stetin*, there to giue audience vnto the *Ruſſian* Embaſſadour: which he did vpon the fourteenth after.

By this time, there hauing beene ſome murmuring amongſt the *Proteſtants* againſt the King, concerning the taking of *Magdenburg*; as if he had beene too ſlow or defectiue in his aides or counſels vnto that City: His Maieſty, though in himſelfe guiltleſſe; yet conſidering that he is cruell to himſelfe, who is negligent of his owne fame or reputation; thinkes himſelfe bound in honour to excuſe himſelfe, and therefore ſends abroad this his Apologie, which we haue here abbreviated.

The Kings Apologie concerning *Magdenburg*.

That he could neuer by any perſwaſions or aſſurances draw in the Citizens of *Magdenburg*, to diſburſe any monies towards the leuying of any forces for his ſeruice, and their owne ſafeties: no nor ſo much as to billet or quarter any of his troopes vpon them; vntill by the blocking vp of their towne, they were compelled vnto it. That neither could their owne Prince the *Adminiſtrator* of *Magdenburg*, when in the end of *July* 1630. hee came into their City, obtaine ſo much of them: which had it bin done, *Puppenheim* had then beene diuerted, an inexpugnable Fort might haue beene raiſed; and the Seate of warre haue bin turn'd off from the City. That the enemy had ſuch potent *Agents* within the towne, that all good reſolutions in others, were hindered

dered by them: and vnto their trecheries, is the ruine of their owne Countrey to bee imputed. That notwithstanding all this, the City can witnesse his great care in borrowing monies from *Hamburgh* and *Lubeck* for them; which had beene sent vnto them. As for any promise from his Maiesty, which the Citizens may alleadge that they relyed vpon; they must know, that this is to bee regulated according to conueniency, possibility, and the present state of things: so that the King might not then endanger the whole action, for the particular of one City; especially seeing their owne negligence, had now made his promise impossible to be kept. Moreouer, other most insuperable difficulties haue since fallen out, and made his relieuing of them impossible. As that Imperiall Army in *Pomeren* and *Mecklenburg*: which besides that it was farre too strong for him in horse; had euen then blockt vp all passages from the East Sea vnto *Magdenburg*. That it had beene in vaine for him to haue attempted any further, vntill he had first taken in, those two mighty passages of *Gartz* and *Grippenhagen*. That notwithstanding all his diligence, he could not conueigh any troopes vnto *Magdenburg*, (to any purpose) vntill *November* last; by which time, the enemy had encroached too farre vpon them. That *Gartz* and *Grippenhagen* being taken, hee might haue ruined the whole Emperours Army, could hee but haue obtained the passage of *Custrine*: but this had beene denyed him by *Krachten*, then Gouernour of it. That hereupon, he was faine to let the enemy escape (in their flight from *Gartz*) into *Landtsbergen*: nor was hee able after that, to cleere the *Elue* of the enemies; and all this, through *Krachtens* deniall. If it had beene expected, that his Maiestie should then haue ioyned battell with *Tilly*: they are to consider, the many labours and weakenesse of his forces: the hardnesse of the winter; and the ouer-matching power of the enemy: who, had hee wonne the battell, had at that blow conquered both *Magdenburg* and *Germany*. That after *Tillyes* retyring from him to besiege *Magdenburg*, hee had strengthened the Imperiall Army left against his Maiesty, with 12000. new men: laying them vpon all the passages and aduantages of *Pomeren*, *Brandenburg*, and *Silesia*: and especially vpon the

Riuer *Oder*; and in the townes of *Franckford* and *Landtsbergen*: that had he ſtirr'd to relieue *Magdenburg*, they had come vpon his backe. That to ſhew his willingneſſe, to relieue *Magdenburg*, he had aduentured vpon the taking of *Frankford*; and after that advanced as farre as *Spandaw* and *Potſdam*, towards it. That notwithſtanding the towne ſo much concerned the *Elector* of *Saxony*, yet could his Maieſty neuer obtaine of him, any aides towards the reliefe of it; or any paſſage by *Wittenberg*, or the *Deſſan* bridge, towards it. That the *Elector* of *Brandenburg* had not, or could not in time deliuer him ſuch victualls and ſhipping, as were neceſſary to it; as hauing a reſpect vnto what the *Elector* of *Saxony* did, or would doe. That he yet knew not, whether theſe two *Electors* were or would be, his friends or his enemies. All this conſidered, his Maieſties Councell of warre aſſured him, That with ſo ouer-wearied an Army, firſt to paſſe ſo many enemies in the way; and then to haue ſet vpon *Tilly*, had ruin'd all. Laſtly, that he would haue relieued the towne, appeares by the neede himſelfe ſtood in of it: ſeeing vpon the newes of the taking of it, he was faine to retyre with his Army; and proiect new deſignes for his ſecurity and proceeding. This was his Maieſties Apologie.

Here the Riuer *Mulda* runnes into the *Elbe*.

Suppoſe now in the meane time the Generall *Tilly* to be removed from *Magdenburg*; whence in Whitſun weeke about the end of *May*, he departed. This knowne, the King preſently hath a deſigne of recouering thoſe places; and he hauing forſaken the *Elve*, the King ſends towards it. Some troopes of *Bauditzens* horſe all of a ſudden one night, paſſing a ſhallow place or Foord of the *Elbe*; the *Imperialiſts* in *Werben* are taken ſleepers, kill'd, rowted or impriſoned; their Lieutenant-Colonell, their chiefe Quarter-maſter, and their towne ſurprized: Others at the ſame time doe as much to *Borg*, within foure leagues of *Magdenburg*. *Tilly* now vpon his march hearing of theſe tydings, and fearing withall that the King had an intention to lay a bridge ouer the *Elve*; away diſpatches he foure Regiments vnder *Pappenheims* command; to ſecure *Havelberg*, and thoſe neighbour places. *Werben* thus ſurprized, now begins ſome of the Kings Army to remoue from about *Potſdam*; and the Na-

Werben taken and *Borg*.

Pappenheym ſent to reſiſt the King.

uy

uy of boates with their prouiſions, are ſent towards *Copenick*, to paſſe by *Berlin* and *Potſdam*, into the Riuer *Havel*, both Army and Fleete mooving towards old *Brandenburg*, *Rattenaw*, and ſo on towards *Havelberg*. At this time the King hauing receiued a ſupply of foure Regiments out of *Pruſſia*, and ſome new troopes leuied about *Brandenburg*, with others drawne out of his owne Garriſons, he diuides his forces: the Lord *Oxenſterne* Chancellor of the Kingdome of *Sweden*, hath 38. troupes of old Souldiers added vnto his former Army in *Pruſſia*: *Guſtauus Horne* hath his ſtrength in *Sileſia*, againe reinforced with Recruits; and a bridge is laid by him ouer the *Oder* at *Schamburg*, a mile beneath *Cuſtrine*. By this time (that is in the end of *Iune*) is the King come backe againe from *Stetin* vnto his Armie; and that diſlodged and advanced. Vpon the laſt of *Iune* therefore in the night, is *Dobartell*, Lieutenant-Colonell of the Dragooners, or muſketiers on horſebacke; ſent out with ſome 2. or 300. muſkettiers, and as many of his owne Dragooners: who alſo paſſing the *Elve* at a ſhallow paſſage, &c. as *Bauditzens* horſe had done before,) fals vpon the Citie of *Tangermund*; where both Towne and Caſtle being taken, the moſt of the Garriſon are ſlaine in the reſiſtance. The next day, thither alſo comes his Maieſty, with ſome two thouſand muſkettiers, and as many horſe and Dragooners. Some name, ninetie eight companies of foote, and ſixty troopes of horſe. The *Imperialiſts* of *Garleben* (another neighbour Garriſon) hearing of this, inſtantly fly away towards *Halberſtadt*. *Wolmerſtat* is preſently alſo taken: yea the *Swediſh* flye out ſo far, that they tooke away fifty horſes which were graſing euen vnder the wals and Ordnance of the City of *Magdenburg*. *Tangermund* thus taken; a bridge is laid ouer the *Elve*, and there the King entrenches himſelfe; there (for a while) he fortifies, and formes a Camp. And now begins the buſtling, and not till now.

Tangermund taken.

Papenheym with foure Regiments of Crabats or light horſemen and others, together with the expulſed Garriſons thereabouts, being ſent by *Tilly* to keepe thoſe places; does his beſt to hinder the proceedings. The *Rhyne-graue Charles Lodwicke*

Papenheym beaten.

therefore, with ſome *Swediſh* forces being there abroad about *Berg* and *Wolmerſtadt* (not farre from *Magdenburg*) vpon them fals *Papenheym*: of whoſe approach the King hauing notice, with all the horſe he could make, and ſome 2000. Muſketiers, comes time enough to make one in the medley. *Papenheym's* Foote are almoſt all cut off, moſt of the Horſe play'd the *Pultrons*, and ran away: himſelfe eſcaped into *Magdenburg* firſt, from whence hee haſtned towards *Halberſtat*, there to expect his Maſter the Generall *Tilly*. It was ſaid that ſome 20. Companies were here defeated, and ſome 14. Enſignes taken. The Garriſon of *Steindall* beyond *Tangermund* hearing of this, preſently truſſe vp their bag and baggage, and away are they packing: knowing that though their towne were great, yet was it not ſtrong enough to hold out againſt the King.

A battell.

Steindal taken.

Papenheym thus remoued from about *Havelberg*; early in the morning *July* the ninth, comes Sir *John Banner*, Generall of the foote, and he fals vpon *Havelberg*: ſo called from the Riuer *Havell*, on which it ſtandeth. All that are found in Armes are put to the ſword, and the towne taken. This the King hauing notice of, the ſame day begins to remooue his Campe from *Tangermund*, ſhipping all his prouiſions downe the *Elbe* towards *Werben*. This towne was held the more aduantageous place to encampe in, for that it had the command and paſſage not of the *Elbe* alone, but of the *Havell* alſo; which here at *Werben* runnes into the *Elbe*. The Campe lay on both ſides the Riuer, the towne it ſelfe being comprehended within it. This he fortifies moſt mainly, as ſtrong as euer he did that of *Sweds* vpon the *Oder*, when *Tilly* before came by him into *Mecklenburg*: and this he doth vpon the ſame grounds and wiſedome too. *Tilly* was then neere vnto him, and now is hee againe vpon his march towards him. *Papenheym* had ſent for him: *Mansfield*, Gouernour of *Magdenburg* had diſpatcht foure poſts in one day towards him; helpe, haſte come away, or all is loſt. *Tilly* therefore then in *Duringen*, is inforced to put off his owne inuaſion of *Heſſen*, and to countermaund his Forces backe againe already ſent thither: hee now being come backe almoſt as farre as *Halberſtadt*, the King cals out all his Garriſons

Havelberg taken.

The King formes a ſtrong Campe at *Werben*.

The Land of *Heſſen* wonderfully deliuered.

Garriſons out of the Townes which could not be defended. This was about *July* the ſixteenth, 1631. from whence *Tilly* advances, vnto *Wolmerſtadt* in the Arch-biſhopricke of *Magdenburg*.

Hither being come; vpon the ſixteenth or ſeuenteenth of *July*, hee firſt of all diſpeeds away foure Regiments of Horſe for his Vantcurriers, to ſtay the Kings proceedings, whilſt himſelfe with his whole Army might come vpon him: and if it were poſſible to tempt the King out of his trenches, to a pitcht battell in the field. Theſe gallant Troupes (moſt of them old ſouldiers) were *Papenheyms* men; and very forward therefore now to reuenge their fellowes. Colonel *Bernſteyn*, a valiant Gentleman, was their Leader: his Regiment was all *Curiaſſers*, or men at Armes. The ſecond Regiment was the *Italian* Count *Monte Cuculies*, (himſelfe not there) conſiſting of 12 Cornets of Rutters. The third was *Halcke* his Regiment, and in that fiue Cornets of *Curiaſſers*, and fiue more with fire-lockes. The fourth belonged vnto *Coronino*, and ten Cornets had he vnder him. All theſe were verily perſwaded, that the King would not fight; and in this perſwaſion they continued, till they came to *Tanger*, a Dorpe within one *Germane* league of *Tangermund*: not a *Swede* all that while appearing to oppoſe them. Here (about *Tanger*) doe theſe braue *Imperialiſts* take vp their Quarter; the *Swediſh* hauing before forſaken that, and ſome other open places.

Bernſteyn ſent againſt the King.

Whileſt the weary Troupes there reſt; out goes *Bernſteyn* with ſome 600 *Curiaſſers* to ſet the watch, and to guard the paſſages for that night. The King of *Sweden* fully enformed by his ſkowtes, both of their lodging and ſtrength; that very day ſends out 2000 choſen Musketiers, and 500 Dragooners, vnder the command of Colonell *Collenbach*, and the *Rhyne-graue*: who before breake of day had approacht the Enemy. The 500 Dragooners, they ſet to fall vpon *Bernſteyns* 600 Curiaſſers; *Collenbach* with his Musketiers on foot encompaſſing the *Dorps*, where the *Imperialiſts* lay enquartered. The Dragooners charging, preſently tumble down a many of the Curiaſſers; Colonel *Bernſteyn* himſelf being ſlaine among the firſt, & in him a Family, for he was the laſt of that branch of his houſe. The reſt, neither able with their horſes & piſtols, to hold out againſt horſes & carbines, nor yet knowing

A battell.

Bernſteyn ſlaine.

the ſtrength of their Enemies, make a diſorderly retreat into the Dorp: thither the Dragooners purſue them, and there leaping from their horſes, they with their Carbines ſtill let flye amongſt them. The other *Imperialiſts* cannot bee ſaid to haue taken the Alarme, but the fright at it; ſome get horſes to fight, and ſome to flye: well, which way ſoeuer they iſſue out of the towne, one troope or other of *Collenbach's* Muskettiers, are ready to entertaine them. Thus are 1500 ſlaine, all the foure Regiments defeated, *Bernſteyn* kild, *Holck* and *Coronino* fled, ſome 28 or 29 Comets taken: amongſt which, 10 of *Bernſteyns*, of *Holcks* 6, of *Monte Cuculies* 5, of *Coroninoes* 7, beſides thoſe that were burnt. Great bootie gotten of ſiluer-veſſell, &c. ſome one ſouldier lighting vpon 1000 Rixe-Dollars, and another vpon as many Duckets. This defeate hapned vpon *Sunday* morning *July* 17: vpon which day theſe *Imperialiſts* were diſpenced withall for being at *Morrow-Maſſe*, as hauing before day-light beene at a *Black-Sanctus*. This defeate was giuen, *Tilly* himſelfe being in ſight of it.

Generall *Tilly* reſoluing now vpon a reuenge, on Tueſday and Wedneſday following, hee muſters and ouer-viewes his Armie and Ammunition; gets all things ready for a battell. Vpon Thurſday *July* 21, forward he ſets towards the King, by faire and eaſie marches (not to ouer-tyre his Armie) comming vnto *Tangermund*, where the King had before encamped; and from whence he had giuen order for his Garriſon to retyre, if they perceiued *Tilly* about to come vpon them. *Tilly* at this time (reckoning thoſe that were before ſlaine) brought ſome 26000 men along with him, and all theſe like himſelfe, full of anger, reſolution, and deſire of reuenge. Before he would aſſault the Kings Trenches, he was ſaid ſecretly to haue ſent vnto ſome confederates & well-wiſhers of his, or otherwiſe corrupted with promiſes, to doe a peice of trecherous ſeruice for him: and that was, to naile the Kings Ordnance, (at leaſt in that part of the Camp where hee meant to fall on) that ſo it might be made vnſeruiceable againſt him. The plot being (by I know not what remorſe in the conſcience of one of the vndertakers) diſcouered; The King (tis ſaid) gaue not *Tilly* one Cannon ſhot when he firſt drew towards him;

him; notwithſtanding he were come euen vnder the Ordnance; and that *Tilly* was ſaid to haue made about 60. This made him confident, and his men braue; who preſſing now on in great multitudes, all of a ſudden was ſuch a tempeſt of ſhot, chaine-ſhot, murthering-ſhot, and what-euer was cruelleſt to doe execution, ſhowred in amongſt them; that there was made a miſerable butchery. By an *Auenue* at the ſame time, out ſallyes *Banditzen* with three Regiments of horſe, who ſet ſo rudely vpon the Enemies *Curiaſſers*, that had the King ſeconded him with the reſt of the Army, it had beene (as tis thought) a very miſerable defeate. Thus is the retreat founded for that night. Within a day or two, another reuenge muſt be attempted, before which, tis reported alſo, that *Tilly* ſhould haue hyred ſome Boores to haue fired the town of *Werben*, round about which, the Kings Leaguer was. This is a true report, the Boores were executed for it: but as for the former tale, wee doe onely relate it: but preſſe it not vpon our Readers, it was perchance but deuiſed. Well; *Tilly* can make nothing of it neither this day, nor the next, (which was S. *Iames* his day *July* 25, and the laſt day that he attempted any thing vpon the King) and is therefore forced to retire towards *Tangermund*. In which retreat the King himſelfe ſetting vpon him, ſo ouerlaid the *Crabats*, that they were driuen backe vpon their owne Foote; who to keepe them from diſordering of their rancks, were faine to ſtaue them off, by charging their pikes vpon them. *Tilly* perceiuing the King comming, made *Alt* or a ſtand; putting his men in order, and bringing forward his Cannon as the King alſo did. A skirmiſh now beginning, was by the night taken off; both ſides retyring to their quarters. Some ſay that the King himſelfe was in one of theſe fights, in ſome danger and too farre engaged: and that *Banditzen* was ſo hemb'd in, that hee was faine by maine force to breake thorow: and that in the comming off, hee ſhould breake his ſword in the body of a great Commander, bringing out nothing but the hilts, and ſome two handfuls of the blade: and that his horſe was foure times ſhot, and a peice of the ſaddle carryed away. The Generall *Tilly* not vſing thus to be foyled, and hauing a good minde to bee reuenged, layes a Bridge ouer the *Elbe* at his

Seuerall skirmiſhes with *Tilly*, before the Kings trenches.

Tilly beaten off.

Campe

Campe at *Tangermund*, daily ſending ſome out to ſpie their opportunitie and aduantage: but perceiuing many of thoſe which he ſent out, neuer to returne againe, and victuals to proue exceſſiue deare, yea ſcarce to be gotten for any money: he hauing beene almoſt a whole moneth about the King, and all that, to doe as the blind Cat did to the file, lickt the skin off her owne tongue: about the tenth of *Auguſt*, hee diſlodges with his Army, marching directly towards *Garleben*, *Wolmerſtadt*, *Hall*, and ſo to the Duke of *Saxonies* Country. His wants may well be beleeued to be many, ſeeing he was now enquartered vpon that Country, which himſelfe had before diſpeopled, and eaten vp. Fiue hundred ſtarued horſes left hee behind him, (a moſt rich prey for a kennell of Hounds) & 800 wagons for want of horſes to draw them: with much elſe perchance, which otherwiſe he would not haue left behind. Some report him to haue loſt 6000 or 7000 men; perchance in all theſe three great defeats of *Papenheyms*, *Bernſteyns* & his owne he might; and yet is halfe ſo many, a great many for ſo great a General to loſe; nor would the ſide haue ſo many cõfeſſed.

Tilly retires from the King.

Generall *Tilly* thus marcht off, and the King hauing no need to keepe ſo many Forces together, (it being both inconuenient, and chargeable beſides) hee diuide his Army into three ſeuerall Quarters: of which we ſhall by and by tell you more.

During this time, her Majeſtie the Queene of *Sweden* arriues with 8000 men at *Wolgaſt*, by *Straleſund*, where the King had before appointed a Palace to entertaine her. And now alſo is the Lord Marquis *Hamilton* arriued. His Lordſhip after his going from *London*, vpon *July* 18 met with the Forces that were to ioyne with him out of *Scotland*, in *Yarmouth* roade in *Norfolke*: which was their appointed place of meeting. Thence ſetting ſaile the 19, (being a Fleet of ſome 38 or 40 ſayle) on the 25 they came before *Elſmore* Caſtle in the *Sownde* of *Denmarke*. There went the Marquis aſhoare to kiſſe the King of *Denmarks* hand, who then lay at *Frederickſtadt*. The 29 they ſet ſayle againe, comming to an anchor the next day by the Ile of *Rugen*. The 31 they ſail'd into the mouth of the *Oder* betwixt *Wolgaſt* and the Ile of *Vſedome*. The 2 and 3 of *Auguſt* were the Forces landed: being vpon Muſter found to be aboue 6000 able men; amongſt

The Queene of *Sweden* arriues in *Pomeren*.

Marquis *Hamilton* arriues in *Pomeren*.

amongſt which but a very few ſicke, and two dead in all the voyage. The two next dayes they were all armed, and wafted ouer the riuer, from the Ile of *Vſedome* vnto *Wolgaſt* ſide; and there billetted in 5 Villages. Here-abouts for a while they ſtay, and that, for the comming of 4 or 5000 *Swediſh* which were to be ſent vnto them. Theſe being at hand to meet them, about *September* 20, vp the *Oder* from *Stetin* they goe; being about ſome 41 Companies: ſome peices of Ordnance they carry with them by water; and ſome (tis ſaid) are drawne ouer-land along by them. Their way was towards *Sileſia*, where *Guſtauus Horne* was now with an Armie. They were afterwards enquartered about *Cuſtrine*, *Franckford*, *Landtsbergen*, *Croſſen*, and thoſe parts; where a many of them dyed. A report we here had, of a defeate they ſhould giue; but this we leaue to be confirmed in our ſecond part. The newes of the *Engliſhmens* comming being reported at the Emperours Court at *Vienna*, did ſomething ſtartle and amaze the Courtiers: but the *Hubub* was ere long well allayed, by a letter (from a good *Catholicke* hand no doubt) receiued out of *England*. The Contents were; how that few or none could here (in *England*) be gotten, to come at the beating of the Drums, or to ſerue againſt the Emperour: whereupon a moſt ſtrict preſſe was faine to be ſet abroad, vpon which few or none except rogues or jayle-birds were taken; ſo that thoſe Forces were not much to be feared. You ſee how much this Army was beholden to their Countrey-man, this *Spaniolized* Intelligencer.

Catholike Intelligence.

Suppoſe his Majeſtie of *Sweden* employed all this while, about the emptying of his great Camp at *Werben*, into other *Stations*. Some he keepes there ſtill, others are ſent into *Rattenaw*; and a third diuiſion into *Old Brandenburg*. This was about mid-*Auguſt*. About which time he hath 4000 new men come to reenforce him out of *Sweden*. Some Ordnance and Engines of warre they brought with them: and they tooke their way thorow *Brandenburg-land* towards *Frankford*; And theſe (I ſuppoſe) were the men, whoſe comming the *Engliſh* ſtayed for. The King leauing *Banditzen* with chiefe Command for the time, in the Camp at *Werben*, with ſome ten Regiments of horſe, and ſixe of foote: vpon the 29 of *Auguſt*, himſelfe in perſon departs from

The King diſlodges his Army.

Rattenaw towards *Old Brandenburg*; from thence alſo carrying foure Regiments of *Dutch*, and one of *Finlanders* along with him. By this time was the Generall *Tilly* a very buſie Enemy, in taking of townes in *Saxony*; and that Duke with an Army of 20000 men in the field about *Torgau*, one of his chiefe Frontier townes towards the Kings Army. The Duke muſt now declare with the King, or periſh vnder *Tilly*: and there had not onely many treaties paſſed with the Duke, concerning the conjoyning of their Armes; but, as it ſeemes, ſome invitations of late times: little or nothing now remaining to be concluded, but ſome circumſtantiall particulars, points of honour, and proportions of payments to the Kings Army. All theſe, it was not hard to bee fairely accommodated; and the Dukes preſſing neceſſities his Majeſtie well perceiued, would ſuddenly enforce him to condeſcend. Vpon theſe grounds, the King mooues forward towards the Duke of *Saxonyes* Country. So then; the Kings Infantery or Foote, being fairely ſent a little before; the Cavalry the ſame 29 of *Auguſt*, in number 73 Cornets of horſe, and 1000 Dragooners, marches from *Old Brandenburg*: taking vp their Quarter the ſame night, ſome two leagues from that Citie; and for that he would not hinder his march by taking of townes, or going thorow them; he that night pitcht in the fields, neere the towne of *Zegeſern*; where the Army was but very poorely accommodated: as being conſtreyned to content themſelues with the hoſpitalitie of the warres; that is, to lodge all night in the open ayre, vnder the blue skies, and to accept of as cold Commons vnto it: and all by reaſon that neither the Sucklers, nor the Kings carriages, (in which their baggage and neceſſaries were,) were not yet come vp vnto them. The next day *Auguſt* 30, ſo ſoone as the Army appear'd in battell array, his Majeſtie the King of *Sweden*, rode vp and downe amongſt them from Regiment to Regiment, and from rancke to rancke, giuing them this gracious Encouragement. Yee Lords and Gentlemen; much grieued I am at this your hard lodging and entertainment: But courage, my hearts; wee are now as good as in the Dukedome of *Saxony*; and there, indeed, our intention is to enter. Aſſure your ſelues, that things will mend there; there ſhall you haue victuals ſufficient,

The King mooues towards the Duke of *Saxony*.

A hard Quarter.

The Kings Oration to his Souldiers.

ſufficient, and prouiſion enough: then alſo ſhall we fully pay you the arrier, of whatſoeuer meanes is now due vnto you. Let vs onely make this condition with you; that you there behaue your ſelues more ciuilly and gentilely, then in ſome other places you haue done, and in the Marquiſate of *Brandenburg* eſpecially: where, in deed it much grieued Vs, to ſee things carryed ſo ill-fauouredly. Hearke! at this preſent the Drummes beate a march, and the Trumpet ſounds to Arme; the ſignals and ſummons of our mooving forward. To morrow our Army breakes vp from *Werben*; and that alſo is to follow vs. *Tilly*, notwithſtanding his great Army, ſtands already in ſo much awe of vs, that he proceeds with more leiſure and warineſſe, then hee was heretofore wont to doe; for they haue beene beaten to it. It doth nothing daunt your valiant hearts, I know, that his Army is called *Invincible*; ſeeing you haue found it not to be ſo. On therefore, my hearts, a *Gods* name: Wee daily pray vnto the LORD of Hoaſts for you, and we deſire you to doe the ſame for Vs; that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to goe along with vs, to aſſiſt vs, and to giue vs good ſucceſſe, in whatſoeuer juſt and religious enterprize we vndertake.

The Army thus encouraged, and aſſured of their enterprize; now riſe and march. So that taking their way by *Beltzig* they arriue at *Coſwig*, within two leagues of *Wittenberg*, *Auguſt* 31. Hither alſo the ſame day came the Lord *Arnheym*, Feild-Marſhall to the Duke of *Saxony*: and at this time his Embaſſadour to the King. The caſe is now altered with that Duke, *Tilly* had taught him to requeſt of the King, what he had before either denyed him, or would not time enough declare himſelfe in: aydes, and ioyning with him. *Arnheym* humbly now declaring his Maſters eſtate, requeſts his Majeſties ſpeedy aſſiſtance: the Conditions and manner whereof, being *Sept.* 1. on the Kings part conſented vnto, and ſent vnto the Duke; are the next day returned in writing, and ſigned. The Vnion had theſe foure Conditions now yeelded vnto by the Duke, which he ſo much before ſtood vpon.

Saxons vnion with the King.

1. That his Majeſtie of *Sweden* might freely from henceforth, paſſe and repaſſe thorow *Saxony*. And the Conditions of it.

2. That the *Elector* of *Saxony* ſhould at his owne charges prouide the *Swediſh* Army, with powder, ſhot, and prouiſions.

3. That the King ſhould haue the abſolute and vniuerſall Command of the whole Army: and the Dukes Souldiers to ſubmit themſelues vnto his direction.

4. That the Duke ſhould conclude no Peace with the Emperour, without the Kings conſent: but that both of them ſhould ſtand as one man, vntill the end of the warres.

The firſt defeat that this Vnion made, was of the *Papiſts* expectation: who verily beleeuing that the *Concluſions of Leipſich* would haue made the *Proteſtants* fall out among themſelues; are now fruſtrated of that hope. This done, the bridge at *Wittenberg* ouer the *Elue*, is freed for the King; who *Sept.* 3. paſſes his whole Army ouer it, into the Dukes Country. *Sept.* 4. the Kings Army from *Wittenberg*, and the Dukes from *Torgau*, aduanced forwards to meete one another, as farre as *Dieben* vpon the Riuer *Multa*, within three leagues of *Leipſich*: whither alſo the *Elector* of *Brandenburgs* troopes now came. Both Armies here meeting; in ſigne that the Duke had yeelded vnto what the King would haue, (namely, the Superioritie and Command of the *Saxon* Army,) the Horſemen as they came by, vayled and ſtooped their Cornets; and the Foote, their Enſignes, towards the Kings Armie. The fifth day both Armies putting themſelues into fayre *Battaglia*, the King tooke a particular view of the *Saxon* Forces, and of the order and conſtitution of the Armie; reſoluing the next day to viſite the great Generall *Tilly* in his trenches, and to levie his ſiege of *Leipſich*: Hearing that *Tilly* had that morning preuented them by taking of the Towne; the King and Duke were both put vnto new conſultations: So that the ſixth day was ſpent in prouiding for the great day, the day of battell; which fell out to be the next day following. And here now leauing both the King and the Duke employed; Let vs goe aſide a while, to fetch their valiant Aduerſary into the Field, the *Imperiall* Generall *Tilly*: whom we lately left retyring this way, from the Kings Leaguer of *Werben*.

THE

THE PROCEEDINGS OF IOHN *Tſerclaes* Count of *Tillye*, and Generall for the Catholike League; from the time of his retyring from the King; Campe in *Mecklenburg* and *Pomerland*: *Hiſtorically led along vnto the day of his deſeate*, at the Battell of *Luipſich*.

THE Generall *Tilly* perceiuing the King neither willing to adventure his Forces, now (like their ſwords) already worne out with ſo many winter-victories, into the plaine field againſt ſuch freſh troopes, who would be deſperate, (as the King knew) becauſe they muſt either fight or be gone: and that he lay too ſtrongly entrenched to be forced: and that by carrying away all prouiſions, he had left him no meanes there long to ſtay without ſtaruing: and now hearing newes frō *Coloredo*, that there was no forcing of the Kings new Bridge laid over the *Oder* at *Sweds*: bethinkes himſelfe, therefore, of an expedition againſt *Magdenburg*; riſes, and retires with his Army. In the middle of *March* minding wholly to leaue theſe Quarters vnto the King, he firſt of all diſmantles *New-Brandenburg*, which he had ſo lately cōquered: becomming now as cruell to the towne, as he before had bin vnto the Townſ-men, and their Garriſon: for he beates downe the wals, layes all the fortifications leuell with the ground, and ſo takes his leaue of it.

Tilly retyres from the King.

Order is giuen vnto the Count of *Scomberg* to looke well vnto *Frankford* vpon *Oder*, of which he was lately made Gouernour: and for the better ſecuring of it, he giues direction for ſeuen thouſand freſh men to bee ſent in; and that *Diepenbach* ſhould alſo come into the towne to aſſiſt *Scomberg*, as you haue heard before: yea hee leaues fiue thouſand freſh men more behind him; for the guard of *Landtsbergen*, and other paſſages vpon the *Oder*. And whereas there were yet two townes with *Imperiall* Garriſons in them, neere vnto the Kings Campe at *Sweds*, (in *Britſen* namely, and *Moncheberg*) which, to be ſure, the King would fall vpon ſo ſoone as euer hi backe

was turn'd; thoſe Garriſons he therefore ſends for, and away he marches backe againe, the ſame way (almoſt) that he came: to *Ferberlin* firſt, and ſo to *Old Brandenburg*. Now he cleerely diſcouers himſelf, that his purpoſe was to vndertake, what *Pappenheym* had all-this while beene about; the conqueſt of the Towne and Arch-biſhopricke of *Magdenburg*. Part therefore of his Calvarie he ſends to *Havelberg*: himſelfe with the reſt of the horſe, and 5. Regiments of foot paſſing the Riuer *Havell*, takes vp his head-quarter at *Mockeren*. His magazine for the whole war to come, he appoints at *Zerbſt* vnto the *Deſſau* bridge, and that he might go the roundlier to work, he ſends for his Ordnance from *Hall* and *Halberſtadt*, which he commands to meete him at the towne of *Magdenburg*.

Thus hauing brought the gallant Generall *Tilly* ſo farre onward on his way; and entred withall in that manner into our diſcourſe, as a man ſhould doe either into a goodly *Palace* or *Hiſtory*, namely in the midſt of it: we will leaue our Generall a while taking order for his buſineſſe, and goe to fetch vp our Story from the beginning of theſe latter troubles.

The Countrey of *Magdenburg* is ſituated vpon the Weſt of *Brandenburg*, from which the riuer *Elbe* parts it: vpon the South it touches vpon *Saxonie*: vpon the Weſt ioyning with *Brunſwicke* and *Halberſtadt*: and vpon the North of it is the *Elbe* againe, with the two Dutchies of *Luuenburg* and *Lawenburg*. The countrey hath the name from the chiefe City *Magdenburg*, which is one of the ancient *Hanſe* townes of the Empire: and that honoured with an Arch-biſhops See, and he the *Primate* of all *Germanie*.

The people be *Lutheranes*, of the *Auguſtane Confeſſion*: the Arch-biſhopricke in the hands of a Lay-man; *Chriſtian William*, a Prince of the Electorall houſe of *Brandenburg*. His Title is, *Adminiſtrator of the Biſhoprickes of Magdenburg and Hall, and Primate of Germany*. This bred the quarrell; for he not giuing way to the *Reformation* of the Religion (that is, the bringing in of Popery againe) and the reſtoring of the Church-lands, he is *proſcribed* and *Bandited* by the Emperor: and ſome Forces ſent into his country actually to ſeaze vpon them. His ſubiects notwithſtanding they were alſo far out with the Emperor (as hauing conſented

* For of that Biſhopricke is he Adminiſtrator alſo. These Laye-Biſhops are Adminiſtrators of the *goods*, not of the *offices*: for they are not in orders.

ſented with other *Hans-Townes*, not to ſuffer any *Imperiall* ſouldiers to be quartered or billeted vpon them, and had raiſed ſome 2000. ſouldiers for their owne guards,) yet being now terrified by the Emperor, durſt not aſſiſt their Prince: vntill at laſt being encouraged by the King of *Sweden*, they receiue him, & promiſe to ſtick cloſe by him, for which the King ſends his hearty thanks vnto them. This fals out about the end of *Iuly* 1630. The Adminiſtrator thus returned, ſets forth his Declaration: proteſting in it againſt the wrongs done him by the Emperour, and putting himſelfe vnder the protection of the King of *Sweden*.

The Duke of *Saxon-Lawenburg* riſeth with the Adminiſtrator.

With this Prince had *Francis Charles* Duke of *Saxon-Lawenburg* (and for the ſame reſpects) now conioyned himſelfe. In aide of thē, had the King of *Sweden* ſent ſome troupes into the country. And becauſe the next way through *Mecklenburg* was full of *Imperiall* Garriſons, theſe aides are ſent from *Straleſundt* along by Sea, landing beyond all *Mecklenburg* at *Daſſow*, not far ſhort of *Lubeck*. Theſe, the Duke of *Saxon-Lawenburg* aforeſaid, vndertakes to let into *Magdenburg*, thorow his owne countrey and the paſſages of *Lunenburg*; in the Kings name alſo leuying forces from about *Hamborough*, *Lubeck*, and thoſe quarters: with whō about the end of *September*, he makes himſelf Maſter of the townes of *Boutzenburg*, *Lawenburg*, *Nychuſen*, and other places vpon the *Elue*. Againſt him, towards the end of *September*, is the General *Pappenheym* ſent with more *Imperiall* forces: who quickly ſnaps vp the Duke, taking him priſoner in his owne brother Duke *Auguſtus* of *Saxon-Lawenburg* his caſtle of *Ratzenburg*: & there an end of him for that time. Colonel *Bock* with ayde of the *Adminiſtrators* forces, takes the Citie of *Hall*; and otherwhere holds ſome play a while: but in *Oct.* following is he taken off alſo. In the end of *Nouember* the King ſends a noble Gentleman and well-beloued by him, the Lord *Diderick Falkenburg*, Lord Marſhall or Chamberlayn of his Maieſties owne houſhold. Hee being with his forces come into the towne of *Magdenburg*; the Countrey-Gentlemen and the Souldiery reſort apace vnto him: ſo that there was a Garriſon of ſome foure thouſand men layd in the Towne, what with the Souldiery and the Trayne bands of the Burgers: and now the courſe of things beginne to turne about againe. Then is Colonell *Scheneidewin* ſent out with

Is taken priſoner by *Pappenheym*:

And Colonel *Bock* defeated.

The Lord *Faulkenburg* ſent by the King.

with 600. Muskettiers and 200. horſe; and he in *December*, takes in *New Allenſleben*: ſlaying there ſome 60. *Imperialiſts*, and bringing 100. more, away priſoners with him. The towne of *Egelen* is a little after that taken alſo. In the beginning of *Ianuary* an *Imperiall* Captaine ſurpriſes ſome 50. or 60. of the *Magdenburgers*; and they falling out vpon a ſtrong Partie, fetch in a bootie of 800. ſheepe, and ſome 84. head of cowes and oxen: ſetting fire at the ſame time vpon ſome of their owne Dorps vpon the *Elbes* ſide, that the Enemie might not there neſtle. I will not ſtand vpon eve.y petty encounter that paſſed this Winter time. The Spring comming on, they become more buſie, on the ſecond of March the Count *Ladron*, together with his Lieutenant Colonell *Kirkner*, are ſnapt vp and ſlaine by the *Magdenburgers* at *Coswick*, neere vnto the City. The Citizens making out all their ſtrength, caſt vp three Out-workes hard without their Ports; and the *Imperialiſts* falling on vpon two of them at once: the Marſhall *Falkenburg* with 2. peices of Ordnance ſallying the ſame time out of the City, ſets vpon their Quarters; fires and ſpoiles all their Huts and Cabbins, where they had all this while wintered. Thus theſe leſſer fiſhes play a while with one another, till at length the great Pike (Generall *Tilly*) comes amongſt them, and deuoures them all together. To him now turne we.

The ſiege of *Magdenburg.*

Suppoſe him now at *Mockeren* (where we laſt left him) already within the Biſhopricke of *Magdenburg*, and within two or three leagues of the very Towne: Vpon the 12. of *Aprill* he firſt preſents himſelfe in full *Battaglia* within a mile of the City: at which time beleeued it was, that he would at leaſt haue fallen vpon the great Star-Sconce or * Toll-houſe by the old *Elue*; but that day attempted he no more, thē to beate ſome guards out of their redoubts into the city. The 13. he layes his ſiege: himſelf, *Pappenheim*, *Savelli*, and *Mansfeldt*, round begirting it. This done, twelue peices of Cannon are planted againſt the bridge ouer the *Elue*; vpon which hee made 568. ſhot that ſame day: his intent being to cut that paſſage off, that the towne by it might ſend no ſuccours to the foreſaid Sconce or Toll-houſe; but the Generall *Falkenburg* conueniently planting ſome peices vpon the Toll-houſe, quite at laſt diſmounted the enemies Canon. This not ſucceeding, *Tilly* fals pell mell at once vpō both theſe places, giuing

* This is in the Mappe called The Zoll-Sconce: an Z being falſe printed for a T.

giuing eight ſeuerall aſſaults vnto them: but the Lord *Falkenberg* with foure whole Canon double charged with ſtones, old iron &c. about 12. a clocke at night made them to giue ouer. Some priſoners the next day taken, confeſſe there were 2000. men that day ſlaine of the aſſailants. This * Toll-houſe, was a notable peice of fortification, built on the other ſide the *Elue*. To this *Tilly* now turnes all his battery; heere fals he to myning, and all to no purpoſe. On the 15th, both by land and water hee laves at it: but 300. Muskettiers being by him ſent in boates, to aſſaile it on the waters ſide, were by thoſe of the Fort driuen aſhoare, and either all drownd or ſlaine by the Citizens: 200. alſo at the ſame time, loſt their liues on the land-ſide. Now was there newes brought into *Tillies* Campe of the King of *Swedens* being vpon his march, for the relieuing of the beſieged: a Councell of warre thereupon being call'd, ſome troups are ſent towards *Wittenberg*, and the *Deſſau* bridge; there to ſtaue off the Kings forces. The newes of his comming againe ſlackning, *April* 21. to worke he falls againe: and giuing on vpon the Toll-houſe, that notable peice is forſaken by the *Magdenburgers*; who at their retreate offring to fire it, the place was reſcued by the *Imperialiſts*. Vpon this, were all the Forts on that ſide of the *Elue*, either taken or giuen ouer; the bridge alſo by *Tilly* burned: and approaches made vnto the Citie, which was from thence immediately battered. Now were the beſieged forced to burne their owne *new Towne*: where 2000. *Imperialiſts* immediately lodging themſelues, fell to myning, and ſhooting of Granadoes into the City. The 29. by a ſally out vpon theſe in the *new Towne*, are ſome 100. ſlaine. The mynes doe no hurt, vntill one *Farenbacke*, a notable Enginer takes them in hand, who ſappes himſelfe vnder the Towne-ditches to the very hard walls, which he much ſhakes, by ſpringing of a myne: in reward of which ſeruice and ſome others, the Emperour makes him a Colonell, granting him commiſſion to raiſe two new Regiments. *May* 2. the *Imperialiſts* in the new City hauing ſuddenly in the night-time caſt vp a battery, ſhrewdly puniſh the beſieged. *May* 7. Generall *Tilly* comes himſelfe into the new Towne, together with *Pappenheym*, then Generall of the Ordnance, and the Count of *Schomberg* Sergeant Maior

* *Gallobelgicus* (as I take it cals *this* Fort, *Ædes portitorias*, or *Munimenta portitoria*: In *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, *The Toll-houſe*.

Generall; and a great ſhow of Ladders is made, as if there were a purpoſe of a generall ſcaladoe. *Tillyes* hope was, that the towne would preſently parly, vpon ſight of theſe preparations: but they taking the Alarme at it, inſtantly manne all their Bulwarks. The 8th day is ſpent in ſhooting at a certaine high Tower, from which the Towne-Canon much plagued the beſiegers. This day *Tilly* ſends a Trumpet to ſummon the towne: they ſend another to him; ſignifying their willingnes to yeeld, might but their Adminiſtrator ſtill enioy his Biſhopricke, and the towne their priviledges. This not conſented vnto, the ninth day *Pappenheym* attempting to ſcale the wals, is by a ſally beaten off: in which ſome of the enemies mynes being diſcouered, are by countermynes in the towne defeated. That day is another Trumpet ſent into the towne. Towards Euening, was there much buſtling obſerued, and carriages to and againe in the enemies Leaguer: yea they were perceiued to riſe with their whole Army, (as the towne thought) and to march to *Otterſleben*, halfe a mile from them. All that night was the Lord *Falkenburg* vpon the wals: who perceiuing in the morning no danger of aſſault, cals the City together into the State-houſe, to giue anſwer to the enemies trumpet; yea ſo ſecure they were, that the onerwatcht Souldiers are ſuffered to goe from their Courts of guard, to take ſome ſleepe: and ſome ſay, that the Townesmen were gone to Church to giue God thankes for their deliuerance from the ſiege. Thus the wals being found empty, about 7. on the Tueſday morning, *May* 10. *Pappenheym* hauing giuen the word *Ieſu-Maria* to his ſouldiers, and a white ſtring about their Armes; makes towards the *Heidecker* port: where hauing throwne turffs and faggots into the Ditch to fill it, thorow it vp to the middle the *Imperialiſts* runne, with ſcaling ladders vpon their backes. The wals are in a trice mounted, the towne entered, and the Souldiers fall to killing. *Falkenburg* now flying in vpon them, beates them backe to the very walles againe: but a Port being by this time opened, and the enemies horſe let in, the valiant *Falkenburg* is ſlaine with a ſhot, the Adminiſtrator hurt, both in the thigh and head, and ſo taken. Whileſt all thus goes to wracke, a mightie fire breakes out (how, none knowes) and it being a great windie

Magdenburg taken.

windie day, all was on the ſudden become one great flame: the whole towne was in twelue houres ſpace, vtterly turnd to Cinders, excepting 139. houſes. Sixe goodly Churches are burnt; the Cathedrall together with S. *Maries* Church and Cloiſter, were by the Monkes and Souldiers diligence preſerued. Twenty thouſand people, at leaſt, were here killed, burned, and ſmoothered: ſixe thouſand being obſerued to be drowned in the *Elue*. *Tillies Wallons* would giue Quarter to few: and the *Crabats* neuer vſe to giue, or beg any: ſo that all were killed. *May* 12. came *Tilly* into the towne; and finding ſome hundreds of women and children in the Church, he giues them their liues, and ſome bread to maintaine it too. Next day he forbids pillaging. Vpon Sunday *May* 15. becauſe he would haue this faire Cathedrall as like to *Rome* as might be, that is, *dedicated in blood*; he cauſes it to bee cleanſed and new *conſecrated*; *Maſſe* and * *Te Deum* being ſung in it, in thankſgiuing for the Victory. Futureages may perhaps compare the deſtruction of this goodly Citie, vnto that of *Troy*, or of *Ieruſalem*. The King of *Sweden*, (who for want of horſes to draw his Carriages and Ordnance, could not come time enough to the reliefe) hearing of it, vowed (as ſome ſay) to be reuenged; riſing and retyring a little with his Army. There is a prodigie reported in *Gallobelgicus*, portending ſome dire abodement vnto the City. Thus. A City-Captaines wife dying in child-bed, deſires to be ript: the childe was found a boy, almoſt as bigge as one of three yeeres old. Hee had an head-peice, and an iron breſt-plate vpon him: great bootes of the *French* faſhion: and a bag by his ſide, with two like Musket-bullets in it. This take vpon his credit, or vpon theirs that told it him.

* With a vengeance! Can the Papiſts now ſay, that this Maſſe was, *Incruentum Sacrificium*, an vnbloudy ſacrifice?

In capite caſſidem, thoracem ferreum, ocreas amplas, quas alla modo vocant.

The ſame day that *Magdenburg* was taken, had Count *Tilly* giuen order for the burning of the *Deſſau* bridge vpon the *Elbe* where the *Mulda* runnes into it: which was the onely paſſage, by which the King of *Sweden* might endanger to diſturbe his ſiege. Of this act he much repented him after the taking of the City, ſeeing that by deſtroying of that Bridge, he had cut himſelfe off from hauing any more to doe on the further ſide of the Riuer. Being not able therefore to returne that way, and hearing

of ſome leuies of Souldiers now making by the *Leaguers* of *Leipſich*, in *Saxonie*, *Heſſen*, and *Duringen*; thoſe he reſolues by his preſence to hinder. In the end of *May*, therefore, from *Magdenburg* he remoues; leauing three Regiments in the Towne, to defend what the fire had left. Forſaking the bankes of the *Elbe*, and bending a little weſterly, at firſt, thorow the *Hercynian* forreſt he goes, with ſome 20000 men after him: in paſſing thorow which, many of his ſtragling Souldiers were knockt downe, by the Boores of the Countrey. His Ordnance are ſent to *Gruningen*, and ſo forward to *Alleſleben*. Thither being come, he there pitches; for hither had the Dukes of the houſe of *Saxony* (whoſe Lands lay thereabout) now ſent their Ambaſſadors.

The Count of *Tilly* marches towards *Duringen*.

Pitches at *Alleſleben*.

Pappenheym is now diſpatcht towards *Hauelberg*, (as you haue before heard:) and part of *Tillies* Caualrie is ſent into *Saxon-Weymars*, *Altenburgs*, *Coburgs*, *Eyſenachs*, and *Swartzenburgs* Countries. Thence goes he to *Eiſleben*: out of which Towne he drawes a preſent contribution of 8000 loaues of bread, and 40 tunne of beere: the City of *Ertfurt* (who there had their Ambaſſadors) is forced to yeeld to contributions. Thus goes his Army on-wards by ſlow marches, like a *Droue* or *Hoard* of *Tartars*, as if they meant to graze & eat vp the country as they went.

His chiefe deſigne is vpon the great City of *Ertfurt* in *Duringen*, and its neighbour *Heſſen*, that lie to the South-weſt of *Saxonie*, now bearing due Weſt of him. Paſſing therefore into the County of *Mansfelt*, he ouer-ſpreads the Countries with his Armies: for *Iune* the 9th I finde ſome of them at *Sangerhauſen*, others then at *Alſtedt*, and ſome at *Arnſteyn*; all three Townes neere vnto *Eyſleben*, and *Mansfelt*, ſome leagues to the weſt of *Hall*. *Iune* the 13th is the greateſt part of his Army, ſo farre aduanc'd into the Country as within three miles of *Weymar*: but theſe be his Horſe, which had layne vpon them euer ſince *Whitſuntide*. *Iune* the 15th. 112 Comets of Horſe paſſe the Riuer *Vnſtrut*: his Foote at the ſame time being about *Sachſenburg* and *Heildreygen*; and himſelfe then lodged at a Cloiſter by *Oldſleben*, within 4. leagues of *Ertfurt*.

From hence goes he with part of his Army to *Mulhauſen*, an Imperiall City vpon the riuer *Vnſtrut* in the Country of *Duringen*,

gen, and neerer to the Land of *Heſſen*; whereabouts for a while hee ſtayes. Now hath hee two deſignes in hand; one for the taking of the great Citie *Ertfurt* in *Duringen*: for which hee had theſe three reaſons. 1. beſides the wealth of the Towne, it would bring about all the Gentry of the Countrey. 2. If once conquered by the ſword, then were it the Emperours for euer: ſo that *Saxonie* muſt loſe his Title of Protector of it, and that would breed a quarrell with him, which they deſired. 3. That would breake *Saxonies* and *Heſſens* leuies, and ſaue their ſpoyling of the *Spiritualty* in thoſe parts, and in *Franconia*. Round about this City therefore he ſtill lies; himſelfe ſometimes at *Mulhauſen*, and ſometimes at *Oldſleben*, till towards the end of the moneth. His ſecond deſigne was vpon *Heſſen*: to whom at this time he ſends thoſe 4 (which ſome make 5) Articles, of which we before told you: concerning which he receiuing no contentment, reſolues to fall into the Countrey.

Iune 28. I finde *Tilly* come to *Mulhauſen*, from whence he ſends his Vant-curriers before him into *Heſſen*: Colonel *Cratz* goes to one place; *Coloredo* vnto *Saltzungen* and *Creutzberg*: others towards *Eiſchweg* and *Vach*: himſelfe ſpeedily reſoluing to follow with the whole Army.

But now is the hooke put into his noſe, and he is turned back (iuſt) by the way that hee came. For hearing at this inſtant of the King of *Swedens* Conqueſts about the *Elbe*; of *Pappenheyms* defeate; and of *Mansfelts* poaſt haſte from *Magdenburg*: he is faine to call off his Vant-curriers againe, and about the 10. of *Iuly* to turne with all ſpeed towards the King of *Sweden* at *Werben*: forſaking the halfe-deſtroyed Countries of the Princes of the houſe of *Saxonie*. How he there ſped, we haue before told you. After which he againe betooke himſelfe into *Garleben*, *Wolmerſtadt*, and ſo at laſt into *Hall*.

Tilly marches towards the King.

And hither now haue we brought him backe againe, the ſame way he went: for he beates ouer this ground as often, as if hee were the ordinary poſt of the place. Perceiuing his forces by the late defeates beginning to weaken, he ſends for the Count of *Furſtenberg* with his *Italian* and *Bauarian* Troupes: who was

Tilly counter-marches and returnes into *Saxonie*.

now (as we told you) with 18000 men busied in the Dutchie of *Wirtemburg*: which Countrey, together with the Circles of *Swaben* and *Franconia*, he having constrained to renounce the conclusions of *Leipsich*; was at this instant ready to fall vpon the *Landtgrane* of *Hessen* also. Now was the Generall *Tilly* throughly chafed; and seeing hee was not strong enough of himselfe to beate the King, hee resolu'd to be made strong enough by *Furstenberg*, to beate some body.

The land of *Hessen* the second time wonderfully deliuered.

Furstenberg was to come to him by the way of *Ertfurt*, and to meete him about *Mansfeldt*: whereabouts he after ioyned with him *Aug.* 16, not that the two Armies then vnited thēselues into one body, for victuals were now so deare that *Tilly* would not suffer that,) but that the other were thenceforwards at *Tillyes* deuotion. Hauing thus made vp a compleat Army of some 45000 men, of his owne *Wallons*, & old *Germane* Troupes, *Furstenberg's*, *Italians*, and *Bavarians*, with other old Souldiers; they now call'd themselues *The invincible Army*: Now was the Generall *Tillyes* intention with those mighty Forces, first of all to haue cōstrained the Duke of *Saxony* to haue renounced the conclusions of *Leipsich*, and to haue made him resigne ouer his owne Army vnto him; with which being made vp aboue 60000 strong, hee was purposed at the Citie and Bridge of *Wittenberg* to haue passed the *Elbe*, and there to haue set vpon the King of *Sweden*; or to haue falne into *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg*, and *Pomerland* again.

Furstenberg being thus ioyned, the Duke of *Saxony* (then about *Torgau* with his Army, at which town there is a Bridge ouer the *Elbe*) is sent vnto by *Tilly*, and inuited into *Mersburg*; where a meeting was giuen him by the Lords *Mitternicht* and *Schomberg*, Embassadours from the Emperour; together with *Bernard*, chiefe Secretary vnto the Generall *Tilly*. The Embassadours peremptorily in the Emperors name propound vnto the Duke, that his Maiesties great pleasure and intention was, to annihilate & to breake *the Conclusions of Leipsich*: to command there should no more Souldiers be leuied by the Protestants: but that all their Troupes should be cast and licenced: and his *Imperiall* Mandate in all things obeyed, vpon their perils. There must be no nay, excuse, nor delay in the Duke: and his finall resolution must be had within

in a few dayes. The Duke desires to consult with his Councell vpō it, & so takes his leaue of them. His returne not being speedy enough, a Trumpet is sent vnto him for his answer vnto these 4 Propositions, which we before told you of: and then vpon the Dukes denial before the Emperors Embassador (whom he then dismisses from his Court) the Generall *Tilly* not regarding that the Princes of both *Leagues* and *Religions*, were euen now met at *Franckford* vpon *Main* for the compounding of all differences concerning that which bred the quarrell; the *Reformation*, and the *Church-Lands*: About *Aug* 26. takes he the Episcopall Towne of *Mersburg* aforesaid, 3 leagues from *Leipsich*; belonging vnto the said Duke: fairely turning out the Garrison with bagge and baggage; and an oath neuer to serue against the Emperour, and the *Catholicke* League againe. Betwixt this Towne and *Hall* (some 2 or 3 leagues to the North of it) he now pitches his Army: thence sends he some to pillage the two other Bishop-prickes of the Dukes, *Naumburg*, standing vpon the same Riuer of *Sala*, with *Mersburg*; and *Zeitz* vpon *Elster*, the Riuer of *Leipsich*; with other of his Townes and Mannors. *Aug.* 28. *Schomberg* (now made Generall of the Artillery,) together with the Commissary *Walmerode*, come to the Citie of *Hall*, & within a day or two of that time, *Furstenberg* comes thither from *Eisleben*: aduancing forwards to get the passage, (if it might be,) betwixt *Wittenberg* & *Saxony*: but that the Dukes going to *Torgau* and *Dieben*, preuented. *Aug.* 29. Count *Tilly* sends to the Citie of *Leipsich* to demand prouisions for his Army. This denyed, vnlesse he brought their *Electors* consent; he the next day pillages all the country for three leagues about; and comming by the way of *Ranstadt*, hee on that side places his Guards before the very Ports, takes possession of the Suburbs, peremptorily demanding their speedy and finall resolution. Their answer is, that their Duke hauing lately sent in sixe Companies of Foote, and the Lieutenant-Colonel *Pforten* to command in the Towne; seem'd rather desirous to defend his owne, then to yeeld vnto any such violent motion. Hereupon, *Sept.* 3. *Tilly* with full 40000 men sets down before the towne; out-come the Deputies to demand his reasons: They are threatned with fire and sword if they yeeld not. The Citizens resolue to stand to it; and the enemy makes his approaches. Some greater peices

Tilly takes *Mersburg*: and *Naumburg* and *Zeitz*: which were three appropriate Bishop-prickes, whose Temporalties the Duke held in his owne hands. By this it appeares, that *Tilly* had priuate commission to take the Church-lands from *Saxony* also: though it had not beene discouered till now: and that *Saxony* was flattered vp, with the style of *The Pillar of the Empire*. *Leipsich* besieged.

peices he mounts on that ſide towards *Pfaffendorff*, vpon the hil neere the *Euteritzch* Sconces: ſo to cut off all prouiſions from comming in. On Sunday *Sept.* 4 the Towne ſets fire on their owne faire Suburbs, to preuent the enemies lodging in them: killing that day with a peice of Ordnance, one that ſtood hard beſides the Generall *Tillies* owne perſon. He thus enraged, batters them with peices of full Cannon, and ſhootes wilde-fire and Granadoes in amongſt them. Next day hee ſends in ſomethiug, more terrible then all the former: moſt thundering vowes and threats, from himſelfe and *Pappenheym*, to ſerue them like *Magdenburg*, if they preſently yeelded not. This quayld their courages, and brought them vnto a parlie. The conditions are, Free exerciſe of Religion: not to be drawne from their obedience to the Duke: nor to be ouercharged with too great a Garriſon. The Gouernour *Pforten* with his men of warre, haue Souldiers conditions, and ſo the ſame Munday the Townſmen ſigning the Articles, the next morning they forſake the towne. One company with the *Defenſiue Banner* of *Saxony* goes into the Fort of *Pleiſenburg*. (which Fort the next day alſo yeelded it ſelfe) and the other fiue, into *Eilenberg*. One thing fell out ominouſly for Generall *Tilly*; that at his entring the Towne, he ſtayd to talke with the Deputies in the Towne-*Graue-makers* houſe, neere the *Grimiſchen* Port. This done, hee out of the ſaid *Graue-makers* houſe mounting vp on horſebacke, returnes into his Leaguer; becauſe he now heard the King of *Sweden* to haue paſſed the *Elve*, and the Duke of *Saxony* to be ioyned with him.

Parlyes.

Yeelds.

In the time of this ſiege, was the whole neighbour Countrey ravaged and plundered: the Souldiers, with licenciouſneſſe enough, there exerciſing their wonted crueltie and beaſtlineſſe. Now were *Pegaw*, *Lutzen*, *Luca*, *Weiſenfels* and other places ſpoyled. Here were the Ladies, Gentlewomen, and others, like beaſts and dogges yoked and coupled together, to be led into the Woods and rauiſhed: who for reſiſting, had their cloathes ſtript off, their bodies whipt, their eares cropt, and ſo ſent home againe. Herabouts the ſouldiers got together betwixt three and foure thouſand head of Cattell: and what beaſt ſoeuer could not, or did not readily follow them, they either houghed or killed; leaſt (as they ſaid) it ſhould ſerue ſome Heretike.

THE

The Battell of *Leipſich.*

GEnerall *Tilly*, hauing now intelligence of the King of *Swedens* paſſing of the *Elve*, and of *Saxonyes* joyning with him, ſends (as it is reported) a Letter by a Trumpet vnto the King, *To inuite him, as he was a brave Cavalier, to giue him Battell.* This low terme of *Cavalier*, the Kings heroicall ſpirit taking diſdainfully, ſtamps vpon the Letter; replying thus vnto the Trumpet; *What doth your Generall thinke mee worthy of no better a ſtile then of Cavalier? I am a King: and tell him, I ſhall well finde him out.* *Tilly* vpon receipt of this meſſage, prepares his Army, as if to accept of a Victory, rather then to fight much for it: ſo confident they were of themſelues, and ſo glad of the opportunitie. Proclamation is made, that vpon the hearing of certaine warning pieces, euery man ſhould repayre to his Colours and to his order. Vpon the fatall ſeaventh of *September* therefore being Wedneſday, hee with 44000. braue men, in goodly order of battell firſt takes the field; which was vpon a fayre plaine or heath (about a mile from *Leipſich*) called *Gods Aker*: *ſayd to bee the very ſame place, where the Emperor *Charles* the 5. heretofore overthrew the Duke of *Saxony*. *Tilly* like a prudent Generall, being carefull for all aduantages, had placed himſelfe vpon a little hill thereabouts (vvhere the place of execution is,) hauing a vvood alſo to hide his men, and for their retreate. The vvatchvvord for his Armie vvas *Sancta Maria*: the token to knovv one another by, vvas vvhite ſtrings or ribbands about their armes, and in their helmets; as if they had beene *Diademes*, and that that day vvould haue made them all Kings.

Tilly inuites the King to a pitcht field.

*And but ſaid: for beſides our *High-Dutch* Relations printed at *Leipſich* mention no ſuch thing: *Sleidan* who relates that former victory of *Charles* the fifth plainly ſayes it was *Adſylvam Lochanam*, three leagues from *Wittemberg*: and that is neere vnto *Hall*, about 20 miles from *Leipſich*.

*The high Dutch relation ſayes, *Mary the mother of God.*

The King of *Sweden* hauing prepared his Army by prayers vnto God, and encouragements to his men the day before; vpon the ſame Wedneſday morning before day, hee aduances from *Dieben* tovvards the place of battell. His ovvne Troupes vvere ſome 18000: and the Duke of *Saxonie*, togethervvith the Marquis of *Brandenburg* ſome 20000 or 22000. Tvvo Regiments of *Saxonies*, I finde not to haue beene this day in his ſtrength.

The King moues towardes the field.

the field: the Foote-Regiment (namely) of the Count of *Solmes*, and *Hoftkerks* Horſe-Regiment. The watch-word was *Godt mit Vns*, God with vs: their token, *greene branches* in their hats or helmets; with which ere night their browes were crowned, as if with *victorious Lawrell*. The King being come as farre as *Seehauſen* and *Podelwitz*, & now in ſight of the Enemie; behold an *Omen*, which a *Romane Augur* would haue eſteemed for a moſt fortunate abodement. Vpon the place of battell which the Enemie had left for the King, there ſate a flocke of birds; which being ſprung by the Kings comming, tooke their flight directly over *Tillyes* Armie; and fetching there a circle about, (and that alſo the *Romanes* would haue accounted an happy preſage) they turn'd againe towards the Kings Army: as who ſhould ſay, *we went to fetch you victory*. But the King had a better *Augury* on his ſide then a flight of birds, *God with vs*; and that which the *Romane* Generall ſometimes prefer'd before the birds: *Romano milite dignus, Enſis ad eſt augur*; his valour, namely, and his ſword.

A good *Omen*.

The Armies meete.

Being now ready to come vnto the Shocke; the Battels were thus ordered. *Tilly* made choice of the ancient order, to fight in great ſquare bodies, himſelfe leading the right wing, the Duke of *Holſteyn* the left, and the Count of *Furſtenburg* the *Battaile*. The King dividing his men into many ſmaller bodies, takes the right wing to himſelfe, committing the left vnto the Duke of *Saxonie* and his men: the wings of either battaile, tooke vp two *Engliſh* miles in length. The wind was now at the Weſt; which *Tilly* had gotten of *Saxonie*: and was ſo deſirous afterwards to compaſſe from the King, that in wheeling about, he came within the commaund of the Kings Ordnance: who alſo to ſaue the wind, turned a little to the right hand. The fight was about 12 a clocke, firſt begun with their Canon, for that purpoſe placed before every diviſion. Their roare made the very earth to tremble, and men to groane their laſt; for two houres together: about which time, the Generall *Tilly* drawing out of the wood, paſſes by the Kings wing, (which had alſo gotten one end of the ſame wood) and ſet amaine vpon the Duke of *Saxonie*. Two charges the *Saxons* endured well enough: but the Enemie

Their order.

The fight begins with great Ordnance.

mie having direction to lay hardeſt vpon the Dukes owne Guards (amongſt whom himſelfe fought;) they not able longer to endure it, begin to giue ground a little. The reſt of the *Saxons* now perceiving their Duke, and braveſt men thus to retyre, thinke all loſt; and all in confuſion away they flie, leaving 3 Canons to the mercy of the Enemie; and pilfaging their owne wagons by the vvay: that ſo they might at leaſt ſeeme to be Conquerors; in carrying home the ſpoiles of the warres, though not of their Enemies. Yet all fled not; for the Lord *Arnheym* (Field-Marſhall to the Duke, and an old Souldier) together with Colonel *Bindauff*, *Tanb*, & *Vitzthimb*, with their 4 Regiments, brauely yet ſtood vnto it. *Steinau*, a *Saxiſh* Colonell of Horſe, was with 4 Cornets taken priſoner by the Enemie; who at length perceiving the Kings partie to pervaile; brake through the Enemie, and aſſiſted his owne ſide. The *Imperialiſts*, novv ſeeing the *Saxons* flying, cry *Victoria*, *Victoria*, *follow*, *follow*, *follow*: but the old Lad their Generall quickly countermaunded that; ſaying, *Let them goe, we ſhall overtake them time enough: but let vs beate the* Swede *too, and then all* Germany *is our owne*. In this medlie, *Furſtenberg* with his old Regiments of *Italian* Horſe, having charged quite thorow the *Saxons*, was novv comming vpon the *Swedens* backe: which they perceiving, with ſuch reſolution ſecond his charge, and follow their ovvne, that they chace him almoſt an *Engliſh* mile from the place, ſo vtterly cutting off & diſperſing the whole Regiments, that they could not recover it all that battell. And here, perchance, himſelfe was ſlaine too.

The Duke of *Saxonie* flees.

The Count of *Furſtenberg* defeated.

Slaine.

In this time, the Duke of *Holſteyn* with his left wing having charged the King; was with ſuch reſolution and valour anſwered; that after 5 or 6 charges betwixt them, the Duke was mortally vvounded, and taken priſoner: his whole Armie defeated, and 3 peices of Ordnance taken.

The Duke of *Holſteyn* defeated.

And ſlaine.

By this time the King having notice of the Duke of *Saxonies* leaving the field, and that *Tilly* was ready to charge his wing: preſently dravves out 2000 commaunded Musketiers of the braue *Scots*, Col. *Lumſdeli* led by Sir *John Habron*, they having ſome 2000 horſe vpon their flancks; to ſtaue off

The *Scots* of the Lord *Reayes* Regiments, as tis ſaid, firſt breake *Tillyes* rancks, led by Sir *Iohn* Habron & Colonel Lumſdell.

the enemie a while, The *Scots* ordering themſelues in ſeuerall ſmall *battagliaes*, about 6 or 700 in a body, preſently now double their rankes, making their files then but 3 deepe, the diſcipline of the King of *Sweden* beeng neuer to march aboue 6 deepe. This done, the formoſt ranke falling on their knees; the ſecond ſtooping forward; and the third ranke ſtanding right vp, and all giuing fire together; they powred ſo much lead at one inſtant in amongſt the enemies horſe, that their rancke were much broken with it. This aduantage the *Swediſh* Horſe (lined with Muskettieres) apprehending; reſolutely falling among them vpon their Croopes, vtterly now diſperſe them. The foote perceiuing their horſe (vpon whoſe brauerie they ſo much depended) to bee thus put to rowte, ſtand ſore amazed, at that which they ſo little expected. And now the King with his Foote falling in vpon their *Van*, and with his Horſe vpon their flanckes; after 4 houres hard fight, vtterly defeated them. In this hot ſeruice was the Generall *Tilly* himſelfe much diſtreſſed, and ſome ſay priſoner a while (though vnknowne) vnto the Kings Armie: certaine it is, that hee was twice or thrice wounded with piſtoll ſhot, which the *Saxon* writers ſay, was done by their men: moſt affirme, that he was fetcht off by the valour of* *Rodolph Maximilian* Duke of *Saxon-Lawenburg*, that day ſeruing on the Emperors ſide, who fought like a lyon: with whom and two other horſemen, *Tilly* came, and conioyned himſelfe vnto the valiant Baron of *Cronenberg* This bold Baron and his Regiment ſeruing in the right wing, had 4 times in thoſe foure houres, charged the Kings Forces: and hee at laſt, vvhen no more could be done, brauely carried away his Generall in the midſt of his ovvne (novv flying) Troupes.

Tilly vtterly defeated and taken priſoner.

wounded.

* Brother to him that *Pappenhem* had before taken priſoner about *Magdenburgh*.

Tilly reſcued.

Thus notvvithſtanding that the left vvings of both Armies had beene rovvted and defeated, yet the right vvings, vnder their old and experienced Chieftaines, ſtood ſtiffely and brauely to it, from 2 in the afternoone, till 6 at night: by vvhich time the *Imperialiſts* vvere quite defeated, and beaten out of the field, being miſerably ſlaine and trodden dovvne in the chace. Had the King had but 3 houres more of day light, ſcarcely had 1000 Enemies come off aliue: but the darkenes

The Chace

vvhich

which was ſafeſt for them to flie, being not ſo for him to purſue; the ioyfull retreate is ſounded, and the chace giuen ouer for that night. There were full 15000 of the Enemies ſlaine vpon the place of battell, or in the chace; the ſame night and the dayes following, as one of our *High-Dutch* Relations aſſures vs: & 14 pieces of halfe* *Curtoes* or *Demicanons:* and 16 leſſer pieces of 8 or 10 pound ball, taken. Some of them hauing the Armes of the Emperour, Duke of *Bauaria*, & *Wallenſteyn*: others thoſe of the *Palſ-graue*, the Elector of *Brandenburg*. Duke of *Brunſwick*, &c.

The *Dutch* word is *Kartuen* whence ours.

The Enemies whole Leaguer neerer vnto *Leipſich*, was taken full ſtanding; and in it 3000 Wagons, and all their baggage, Tents, and Pauilions: together with a great number of Cattell, oxen, ſheepe, Aſſes, poultry, bread & wine; much coſtly ſtuffe, with ſome gold and ſiluer. Before the Leaguer, was there a great ſquare ſconce, which the Defendants had forſakē.

The bootie and loſſes.

And this was as compleate a victory as poſſibly could bee gotten. Not ſtolne by night which *Alexander* ſcorned: but atchieued by fine force in the broad day-light, betwixt 12 and 6 in the afternoone. No aduantage of place to aſſiſt the King; twas vpon a faire leuell, and *Campagnia*. No caſuall aduantage but was againſt him; the wind, the wood and higher ground; all poſſeſſed by the Enemie. No aduantage in numbers; or reputation of men. *Tillyes* were the more; the older Souldiers, and their Armie was called *Invincible*. Nay, one diſadvantage had the King, as great as poſſibly could be; a maine fleſhing to the Enemie a weakning of halfe his owne Armie, and a diſcouragement to the reſt; by the early defeat of the Duke of *Saxonie*. So that all the aduantages lay on the Enemies ſide, & the diſaduantages vpō the Kings. His Maieſty loſt not aboue 1200 men in the whole fight, & the Duke of *Saxony* not full 2000 of chiefe Cōmaunders on the Kings ſide, theſe ſlaine. Baron *Teuffell*, *Collenbach*, *Hall*, *Adergaſt*, all Colonells, and Col. *Lumsdel* hurt with diuers Captaines and Lieutenants. On the Duke of *Saxonies* ſide theſe. *Coll Bindtauff*, *Starſchedell*, Serieant Maior *Holbeirſdroff*, & *Lemminger*, both Lieutenants Colonells: *Hans George* of *Humrott*, Generall *Aduitant*: *Gerſtorff*, *Muſculus*, Count *Mansfield*,

Chiefe men ſlaine on the Kings ſide.

On the Dukes.

Lubers, Lemminger, Carlowitz, Willenſtein, Rockonitz, Henneger, Lord *Otto* of *Villaz*, all Captaines of Foote or Horſe, with Serjeant Major *Drandorff*: whereof ſome died the ſame day, and ſome the next.

Of *Tillyes* ſide ſlaine. Of *Tillyes* ſide ſlaine theſe following. Duke *Adolp* of *Holſteyn*; the Generall the Count of *Furſtenberg*; the Count of *Schomberg*, Generall of the Ordnance: *Erffi*, Serjeant Major Generall: *Baumgarten, Coloredo, Gallas, Wallenſtein, Lebel,* & *Zabilli*, all Colonels; *Caratelle* Lieutenant Colonell: together with the Lieutenant Colonels of the Regiments of *Saricour, Hartzfeldt*, and of the Duke of *Saxon Lawenberg*: with divers others, whoſe dead and naked bodies were not knowne: beſides Captaines and Lieutenants both of horſe and foote, and many braue Cavaliers moe; which died either vpon the place, or in the Townes of *Delitz, Eylenberg*, and *Leipſich*, whither they had fled. Priſoners. Taken priſoners, the Generall Adiutant *Zinzendorff*, the 2 *Imperiall* Commiſſaries Generall, *Walmerode*, & *Graff*: with *Coronino, Blankhard, Barcelli, Kratz, Hazelung, Larme, Klinzi*, and *Wincleman*, all Colonels: together with *Bernhard*, that was *Tillyes* Treaſurer and Secretarie; divers Captaines and ſome *Ieſuites*: who, no doubt, came thither to bleſſe the Armie. Divers *Proteſtants* were alſo taken, who betooke themſelues vnto his Majeſties ſervice. *Tillyes* manly heart (tis ſaid) could not refraine his teares, when he perceived his braue old Souldiers thus going to wracke. The whole fault he laid vpon his owne Horſmen, who after a few hard charges, cowardly ran away, and never made head againe.

Tilly and *Pappenheym* flee. *Tilly* himſelfe thus wounded as hee was, made ſhift to flie into *Hall* that night, 7 *Dutch* miles from the place of battell: from whence in a *hackney Coach*, both hee and *Pappenheym*, fled the next day towards *Halberſtadt*. Some 200 Muſketiers followed their Generall, & about 2000 Horſe r'allying themſelues tõgether, in all haſte went alſo after him. Reported it was, that *Tilly* ſhould haue his wounds dreſſed by the Town-Barbar of *Hall*, who (it ſeemes) affirmed to the King, that *Tillyes* body was *hard-ſhot*, or *ſhot-free*: and that the bullets had not peirced the fleſh, but made bruſes rather in his arme, necke,

necke, and shoulder: and that to his horrible torment, he was faine to endure to haue the bruised flesh cut out to the very hard bone. Whether this were so or no, wee leaue vpon the Barbars credit: and because wee haue not heard it seconded out of *Germanie*, we are loath to charge so braue a Warriour, with so base an imputation, as to owe his life vnto a * Charm; which is practised by none, but the reprobate raskalitie of the Armie. This is sure, that an *Italian* gentleman (there taken prisoner) avowed it in the hearing of an *English* Gentleman, that his own eyes saw *Tillyes* blood runne into his bootes: which if so, Then surely he was not *shot-free*. The wound which hee was said to haue in his necke, was not a shot; but a rude blow well layd on by a Common souldier, with the stocke of his musket: which *Tilly* more complayned of, then of both his wounds. And this might be the bruised flesh, the Barbar spake of. No man (since the King of *Portugall*) hath beene so often kill'd and reviu'd by report, as *Tilly* hath beene: yea that side affirme him to bee yet aliue. Hee was said to speake of nothing but peace, and of making a good Peace, *which is indeed farre more happy then victorie.*

The Chace and slaughter being done, (which continued all the next day) the day after, *Sept.* 9. went the King on to *Merseburg*, whence he ferretted out the *Imperialists* that had fled thither from the battell; 3000 whereof he entertained into his own service: by which, & others of *Tillyes*, taken on before and after; he was made 7000 stronger then he was in the day of battell. *Sept* 10. he besieged *Hall*, which the next day was yeelded vnto him. The Castle of *Morisberg* hee tooke in *Sept.* 12. where he made Sergeant Major *Groschen*, and Captaine *Wincleman* prisoners: whom he delivered to the Duke of *Saxonie*; redeeming Colonell *Vrseler*, with some others, that had beene taken prisoners at *Magdenburg*: The *Protestants* which lay in Garrison in it hee received into his owne service. From *Hall*, his Majestie commaunded divers Regiments of Horse and Foote to goe towards *Halberstadt*, *Mansfeld*, *Regenstein*, *Stolberg*, *Hohenstein*, *Magdenburg*, & *Brunswicke*, to scoure those Coasts, of the *Imperialists*: who hearing of the *Swedens* comming, packt with all speed away towards the River *Weser*; after their Generall *Tilly*. And hereabouts (the

Priests

* Most surely, such a practise there is; of which no souldier in *Germanie* makes doubt: The Charme which they weare makes their bodies *Gefrorn*, that is, frozen, and hard: If they shew it by day time, it looses its force. No bullet nor iron weapon can pierce them. 100. shots at least, haue bin made vpon one fellow, that braved the *English* at *Stoade*: his cloathes were shot to peices, and the wast band of his breeches: which he taking vp, went his way. This hath beene an old practise of *Mithraes* souldiers, 2000. yeares agone: who made themselues invulnerable both against weapons, frost and fire.

Prieſts & Monks newly put in by the Emperors commiſſion, now flying away, were the late exiled Miniſters, by the King reſtored vnto their Churches. Whilſt the King was buſie hereabouts; the Elector of *Saxonie* employes himſelfe about the reducing of his owne Towne of *Leipſich*, and the Fort *Pleiſſenbergh* vnto his obedience. This Fort, had *Iohn Vopelius* (a *Saxon*) the Captaine of it, cowardly deliuered vp vnto *Tilly*, before euer any force was offered to it, and that vpon the day of battell, ſo ſoone as he heard the fight begin. *Leipſich* being beſieged by the Duke, vpon *Sept.* 12. in the euening come there 350. *Imperialiſts* out of the Fort aforeſaid into the Citie: *Sept.* 13. before noone, Colonell *Wangler* left Gouernour in the Towne by *Tilly*, parlies, and yeelds: whereupon 3000 ſouldiers (almoſt) are ſuffered to depart. The conditions were, To haue 18 waggons of bagge and baggage; 10 red Enſignes furled (not diſplayed or flying) ſwords by their ſides onely, and without ſound of drumme. Some of them forthwith betooke themſelues vnto the Dukes ſeruice: and whereas after the fight ſome had gotten themſelues into the Towne, more then were by agreement to come in, when the Towne was firſt yeelded vnto *Tilly*; theſe the Duke layes hold of and retaines as priſoners. Among theſe, was *Coronino*, and Count *Walmerod* the Commiſſary, and *Zintzendorff*, (all afore mentioned) with ſome *Ieſuits*. The reſt were to be conducted into *Bohemia*: where the Boores were readie with club-law to entertaine them.

Leipſich taken againe.

Whileſt this is done, the other two *Imperiall* Generals *Altringer* and *Fugger*, who were with 6000 men come as farre as *Ertfurt* to haue ioyned with *Tilly*, hearing of his defeat, run about the *Duringer* forreſt like mice whoſe holes were ſtopt: retiring now with all ſpeed: and ſeeking by ſome other way to conioyne themſelues with him. And now no enemie being neere; the King of *Sweden* ſends for the Duke of *Saxonie*, and other the great Commanders of his Army, to come to *Hall* vnto him. A Councell of warre is there held, which way to keepe the enemy from gathering head againe; and how to purſue the victorie: the ſecond part of a Conqueror being, *to know as well how to vſe his victorie, as how to winne it.* And at this conſultation we leaue them, much about *Meka Imas*

Altringer and *Fugger* retire.

The King cals a Councell of warre.

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he is 5. Regiments of foot, and certaine horſe ſtrong before the Towne. The Garriſon within is 11. Companies of foot, and ſome horſe, but very weake ones.

Torquato Conti not ignorant of this, hath a deſigne about the beginning of *November*, for the relieving of the Towne, and his owne treaſure in it; hoping eyther vtterly to defeate *Banniezer* and *Knyphowſen*, that now blockt it up; or at leaſt to beate up a Quarter, and ſo to thruſt ſome ſuccours into it. Vpon this ſervice, is *Monte Cuculi* now ſent. *Guſtavus Horne* (then in the Campe at *Stetin*) having notice of it, immediatly calls a Counceil of Warre. The reſolution is, firſt to ſend *Banditzer* and *Knyphowſen* word of it: wiſhing them to ſtand upon their guard a while, aſſuring them by ſuch a time to be with them. This done, they draw out halfe of every Regiment, to goe along; every Colonell to command his owne; all being commanded men, ſuch as had no Colours with them; and for the defence of the Campe leaving the other halfe, with all the Lieutenant Colonels; and Sir *Alexander Leſly* to command all. Word alſo is ſent vnto the *Swediſh* Garriſons of *Griffenberg* and *Golnaw*, (juſt in the way) to come and meet them. So that with theſe, & their fellowes before *Colbergen*, they might make ſome 8000. foot, and almoſt 4000. horſe. The enemy was alſo ſome 9. or 10000. men; and thoſe upon their march, at leaſt a day or two before *Guſtavus Horne* had notice of it: but they going the further way about, through the *March*, and ſo along behinde *Schiffelbien*, (as farre from the *Swediſh* Garriſons as they could, for feare of being diſcovered;) the *Swediſh* were at *Colbergen* before them. There found they their owne men in battell array, and no newes of any *Imperialiſts* yet. Conſulting what to doe, they there reſolved to ſtay in ſight of the Town, to amaze and affray the enemy all that day; and then to take as many out of the Leaguer as might well be ſpared, and ſo to march away by night, to meet all; the valiant Baron *Duvall*, or *Teuffel* led the *Dutch*, & the Lord *Reay* commanded the reſolute *Scottiſh men* of his owne nation, & *Banniezer* the horſe. About midnight comes a Country Boore unto them, with aſſurance that the enemy had then taken up their Quarter in two or three little Dorps that were hard before them: This intelligence was

The famous Onſlaught of Colbergen.

timely given, for elſe might the Imperialiſts have marcht by them; and ſo have gon on, and defeated thoſe before *Colbergen* firſt, and perchance thoſe at *Stetin* afterwards. Here the Colonels adviſe what to doe. All but *Knyphowſen*, reſolve to ſurpriſe them as they now lay ſcattered and divided in theſe Villages: but *Knyphowſens* advice was, to ſtay till morning. His reaſons were, firſt they knew not the ſtrength and lodging of the enemy; ſo that if by any error they ſhould be defeated, *Colberg* and *Stetin*, and all were loſt. Againe, it was a very good piece of ſervice to have prevented the enemy in his deſigne; and if they could not beate him, it were enough to turne him backe againe. And theſe reaſons prevailed: ſo that the Army being hard marcht, ſate there downe to refreſh themſelves. Whileſt here they were, eyther the ſame Boore, or ſome other, goes and tells the *Imperialiſts*, that the *Swediſh* were hard by them: ſo that by three a clocke in the morning they might perceive the enemies Dorps all on a flame: for they riſing to be gon homewards, had now ſet fire vpon their Quarters. The *Swediſh* perceiuing this, fall generally to blame *Knyphowſen*; reſoluing inſtantly to purſue them. Comming to the forſaken Dorps, there knocke they downe ſome ſixtie men, that the enemy had left behinde, and ſo follow on the reſt. At breake of day, they had ſight of the retyring enemy, vpon a faire Heath: whereupon the *Swediſh* horſe making more ſpeede, by eight a clocke were vpon the neckes of them. The enemy making *Alt*, turnes faces about to them: whereupon the *Swediſh* horſe forbeare to charge, till their owne Foot ſhould be come up to them: who now doubling their march, were hard at hand with them. Thus when the enemy makes a ſtand; ſo doe the *Swediſh* too; and when the enemy marches, the other lyes beating upon their Reere. The *Crabats* (or *Imperiall* horſe) perceiuing themſelues likely to bee overmatcht with numbers, play the *Paltrons*, and runaway. The Foote goe on in this faſhion, till they come to a Dorpe, or Village, called *Faldirbruch*, where was a paſſage at a water-mill: over whoſe bridge they were to goe: and there one of the carriages of their Ordnance breaking, foully ſtopt up their paſſage. Here being crowded and diſordered, the foremoſt

This was on a Sunday.

moſt beginne to flee. And now fell there ſo ſudden and ſo ſtrange a miſt, that a man could hardly diſcerne two Pikes length before him. The enemies Foote that could not get over the Bridge, betooke themſelves into the mariſh by the Rivers ſide, ſtanding there upon their owne defence, with Matches Cockt, and Muskets upon their Reſts. The *Swediſh* comming up to them, they demand Quarter: proffering to ſerve the King of *Sweden*, upon condition every Officer to be under the King, the ſame they were under the Emperour: otherwiſe, they would die like brave men, and ſell their lives as deare as they could, Quarter & Conditions are both granted them. So that there ſtill a while they ſtood. But to ſee the lucke of it; juſt in the meane time returnes *Banditzen*: who having beene purſuing the enemies horſe that fled, and now ſo utterly rowted them, that ſcarce ten of them remayned in a Company, (and thoſe loſt in the miſt too) he ſeeing the enemy ſtand whole in a body together and not knowing of any agreement, falls to charge them with his horſe. They perceiving this, began to ſuſpect treachery in it; that the *Swediſh* horſe ſhould fall upon their *Reere*, and the foote upon their *Van*, & ſo they ſhould periſh betwixt both. To prevent which; they putting themſelves unto two diviſions, turne backe to backe: thoſe next to *Banditzen*, all at once giving faire fire upon him. That volley made a Fell of many a brave man. *Banditzen* charges againe, charges home, and through them: utterly breakes, and defeates them. The other *Swediſh* body of horſe hearing the fight, and the miſt not ſuffering them to diſcerne the matter, imagined verily, that the enemy had bin come backe againe: yea, meſſenger comes upon meſſenger with the newes, *Our men are utterly defeated.* And when as ſome of the horſe that had the *Van* of the *Swedens* foote, came towards them, they certainely beleeved them to be enemies, and their owne men to be defeated, and thereupon give fire upon them. The other, thinke the Devill to be in it: and that their Foote had beene defeated, and theſe to be enemies: and therefore flie backe againe to their fellowes. Others alſo comming upon our *Van*, they fall to charge them: the other as faſt letting flie at them againe Thus having no colours with us we knew not friends

from foes, our enemies from our fellowes. In this miſerable error, and myſticall medly, we continue, untill 4. a clocke at night, when by finding ſome of our own to be ſlaine (whom we wel knew) we began to find our miſtake. The Emperors whole forces, both foot & horſe, were defeated: their Canon all their baggage and 4. Cornets, taken from them. All our owne horſe, except *Bandtzens* own Regiment, ran away: as alſo the body of our foot did, which were led by the young Grave of *Thurne*, & Colonell *Walenſtein*: only the *Van* of the *Swediſh* foot ſtood firme: Commanded by Baron *Teuffel*, the Lord *Reay*, & Sir *John Tinbrox*. So that both the Armies had run away in the miſt: except *Bandtzen* & his Regiment of horſe, and the *Van* of foote aforeſaid. Theſe ſtayed after the fight, to bury their ſlaine fellowes. This pretty kind of battel hapned upon the 13. of *November*, 1630. In which, what with thoſe that were ſlaine by the enemy, & what they had killed themſelves, were 500. men loſt. The reſt partly laughing at their owne miſtake, partly ſorry for their fellowes & *Comrades*, and partly glad to have defeated the enemy, returne home-wards againe: *Bandtzen* and *Kuspowſen* unto their ſiege, and the other unto their League.

The ſiege renewed.

Preſently after this, in the middle of the ſame *November*, were there 182. houſes burnt within the Citie: the fault was laid upon the negligence of a ſervant: though others ſuſpected it to be a villany of the beſieged: ſure it is that there were Letters intercepted by the *Swediſh*, which ſhould have perſwaded the Garriſon, that ſeeing they could not be relieved, the beſt way were to fire the Towne, and by a reſolute ſally to break thorow the enemy. This is like unto the *Imperialiſts* practiſes in other places, who at *Gartz* and *Gripenhagen* about the ſame time, made ſtay of all the Boats that came up the *Oder*, having a deſign to fire *Stargard* with them, by that meanes to have delivered *Colbergen*. The ſame they threatned unto *Stetin* alſo, which made thoſe Townes ſtand upon their guard the ſurer. Towards the end of *November*, the *Swedes* cut off the freſh water that ſerved the City. In the beginning of *December*, the beſieged upon an advantage ſallying out ſurprize a Lieutenant, with ſome 30. of their enemies, & the *Swediſh* within a while after, cut off a Convoy of 180.

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ERRATA.

PAg. 85. put out, *Himſelfe one of the laſt dayes*. And Pag. 86. put out the two firſt lines and an halfe, to *As is aforeſayd*. In the Battell of *Leypſich*, Pag. 123. laſt line ſave one, read thus: *Led by* Sir Iohn Hepburne *and Colonell* Lumsdell. Pag. 17. laſt line: for *Urband Feilſch* reade *Urban a Feilſch*. For *Habron* every where read *Hepburne*.

FINIS.

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